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**Shrinking Cities or Urban Transformation**

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# SHRINKING CITIES OR URBAN TRANSFORMATION!

## SYNOPSIS

*Shrinking Cities or Urban Transformation* is a PhD-thesis conducted at the Department of Architecture and Design, Aalborg University in the period 2004-2008.

The PhD concerns the spatial changes that emerge in contemporary urbanity. Contemporary urbanity can among others be characterized as both growing and declining. On the one hand, a concentration of the urban into a highly urbanized nodal point is happening and on the other a deconcentration of the urban fabric in declining territories is taking place.

The starting point for the dissertation is the term shrinking cities, which has been introduced to describe the declining territories. This term is investigated resulting in a questioning of the term. This questioning of the term brings about a further theoretical investigation of growth and decline and the underlying trends. Following the theoretical investigations an empirical investigation of the cases Baltimore and Denmark is conducted. This shall shed light upon whether the theoretical assumptions correspond to what is happening in the real world.

The introduction of the term urban transformation is the result of these investigations and a response to shrinking cities. Urban transformation is a holistic and relational conception embracing both growth *and* decline. Thus, the urban landscape can be described as a conglomerate containing built-up and open spaces as well as urban growth and urban decline.

Following the theoretical and empirical analysis the thesis enters into a focus of how to handle negative urban development.  This concerns the investigation of design interventions conducted in the two cases Denmark and Baltimore. These investigations are then transformed into a guiding model for how to handle shrinking cities. This frame consists of five overall themes: multifunctional landscapes, soft tools, pragmatic solutions, strategic solutions and, arhcitecture and design and approaching the field of negative urban development by encompassing the following issues: working overall strategically and locally with the place-based potentials; to combine the local space pioneers with overall policies, to combine political will with the use of place-based potentials, to work in between  phasing out and development, to create distinction and add new energy.

## READING DIRECTIONS

The PhD-thesis is divided into a total of seven parts. The first part is denoted preface and concerns the introductory steps, with the introduction, the research question and the research methodology. The second part of the thesis is called theoretical investigations and covers the theoretical offset of the thesis. The third part covers the development of an analysis model by which I analyze my cases. The fourth part is denoted diagnosis and covers the case study analysis, investigating whether the term shrinking cities is what we experience in real life. The fifth part concerns the introduction of a new theoretical offset, where the term urban transformation is introduced. Part six is called intervention and starts with a description of interventions conducted in Denmark and Baltimore leading into the construction of a model for how to handle negative urban development. The seventh and final part is named closure and concerns concluding remarks.

Notes are placed in the end of the thesis numbered 1, 2, 3 and so forth, corresponding with a number in the text.

References follow the author-date style also known as the Harvard referencing style. Here references are placed in the text by using brackets wherein the author's name followed by the year of the publication is placed, being part of the sentence. If it is a direct citation, the reference will consist of the author's name, year of publication and page number. Finally, if it is quotation from an already published text, the text will be surrounded with quotation marks "… ", followed by a bracket with the author's name, year of publication and page number. Websites are referenced in the text by author or organization followed by the year in which the material was posted on the web.

These references correspond to the bibliography placed at the end of the thesis. Here each publication and website is situated with full publication data. The bibliography is listed alphabetically and when there are more publications by the same author, these are listed chronologically, with the most recent ones on top.

Finally, each illustration and each figure is numbered. These numbers correspond with a list of figures and a list of illustrations also placed at the end of the thesis.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, a special thanks to my dear family for supporting me throughout my work, helping me and relieving me of other things so I could concentrate on working on my PhD thesis. In addition to this, warm thanks from the heart to Thomas for always believing in me and to my son Marius for making me aware that life is more than work.

Department of Architecture and Design
Aalborg University
November 2008

*Lea Holst Laursen*

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# PART 0 - PREFACE

## 0.1 SETTING THE SCENE

Due to the economical and political changes marked by globalization, neo-liberalism and post-industrialism, a changed spatial configuration is emerging in which an increased division is taking place, into on the one hand, economical and demographical growing urban areas, where the urban fabric is being concentrated, and on the other, into declining urban areas, experiencing a dilution of the urban fabric and a de-concentration of people and capital. This gives an uneven spatial geography where some places are becoming nodal points in the global society and others are left behind. But the urban situation of concentration and de-concentration is also closely connected, with a dynamic relation between the two. Decline might in some cases even be seen as an aspect of growth, whereas the growth of some places influence the decline of others. With this approach the urban fabric can, therefore, best be described as a conglomerate of greater and smaller urban concentrations living in the same organism. In this conglomerate there are built-up and open spaces as well as urban growth and urban decline. This corresponds with current urban theories that turn away from a concentric understanding of the urban, having a city center with a surrounding periphery. Instead a poly-nuclear approach where the urban world is a structure of enclaves connected through networks is found suitable (Nielsen 2001; Flusty and Dear 1999).

**0.1.0 Negative Urban Development**
The increased differentiation of the urban fabric has engendered different terms to cover this development or parts of it, in the last decades. Among others Steven Graham (2002) talks about sticky spaces and slippery spaces as a way of describing both sides of the transformation, and Saskia Sassen (1991) talks about global cities to denote the fast growing metropolises. In an architectural sphere, Rem Koolhaas (1998) talks about the generic city and the uncontrollable growth of cities in Asia. And as a final example, the European growth model of the "blue banana"[1] is, at a cross-national scale, a way of describing the growth centers of Europe and thus making a distinction between growth areas and no- growth areas in Europe.

 As a way of describing and focusing on the parts of this spatial transformation process that experience negative urban development, the phenomenon of shrinking cities has been introduced. The issue of shrinking cities has, especially, been brought to the attention of a large international public by the German based research project "Shrinking Cities"[2]. The term shrinking cities broadly covers contemporary territories in economical and demographical decline and in recent years, the term has re-entered as a topic of interest for planners, urban designers and urban

researchers (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). The topic is, thus, not new and issues like spatial polarization, the increased differentiation between areas and the balance between growth and decline have been topics in (human) geography, (national) economics, social science etc. for years. But more recently, there seems to be an increased focus on differentiated urban transformations from an architectural and planning perspective, with focus on differentiated planning solutions in addition to growing and declining areas, among other things.

### 0.1.1 The Story of Berlin

As part of my PhD studies I spent three months in Berlin, while I made a research visit to the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, looking into the processes of urban decline in the former East Germany. During that stay, I became acquainted with Berlin and found Berlin to be one of the most interesting capitals of Europe.

And I am not alone in having that opinion. Berlin is one of the hotspots in Europe which are very popular to visit. In 2006 alone, 7 077 000 people visited Berlin to experience an exciting and interesting city (Berlin 2008).
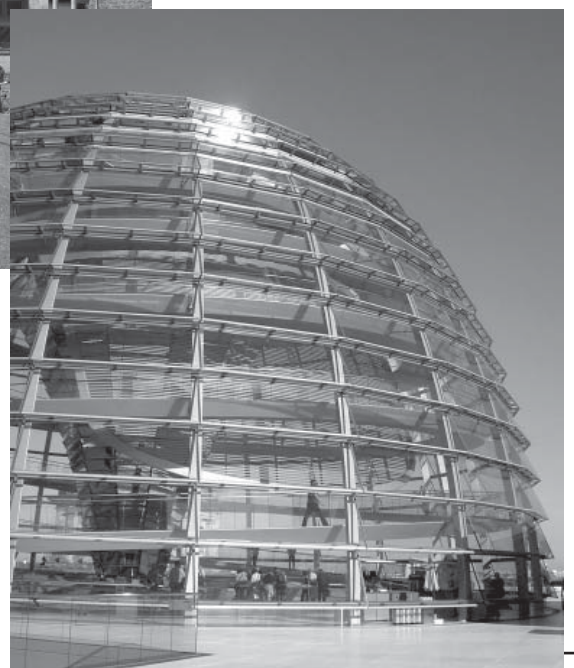


Fig. 1 and 2: Berlin has a pulsating cultural and artistic environment (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)



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With an interesting urban environment Berlin has a lot to offer to visitors and permanent inhabitants alike. Berlin is a city with history and heritage meeting you wherever you go: old and new historical monuments, interesting buildings, and lively city quarters. There are countless cafes and restaurants, traditional as well as more untraditional such as the beach bars along the river Spree. Furthermore, the city is very green and has many different green and open areas that function as recreational spaces for the city. All these spaces give room to a great cultural and ethnic diversity blending into a socially diverse urban environment that makes Berlin ever-changing and trendsetting. As an example of Berlin's trend setting status, Berlin has become the place young Danes flock to after finishing high school, to experience life on their own. Especially, the art and music scene in Berlin attracts many people.



Fig. 3 and 4: The spontanous and subcultural side of Berlin (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

The cultural life is pulsating and Berlin can be denoted a metropolis of art, culture and music. It has a vibrant art and music scene in a broad variety of genres from popular to underground music and art. It is in the forefront and can be considered an interesting experimenting cultural environment that many artists find attractive to live in, in order to be part of this dynamic cultural city. On top of that, the prices on accommodation are relatively low compared to other capital cities in Europe, which makes it affordable to settle down.

As an example of this focus on Berlin as an inspiring environment of art and culture, many Danish artists have discovered Berlin and entered the cultural scenes of that city. In order to support this, the Danish Embassy has started the initiative Berlinaut (Embassy of Denmark - Berlin 2008) in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture. Berlinaut is an initiative aiming at supporting Danish artists who have either settled down in Berlin or want to participate in the dynamic cultural life of Berlin. The purpose of this initiative is to contribute to the internationalization of Danish culture and art and by long-term network-strategies help professional Danish artists to establish themselves in Berlin or via Berlin (Embassy of Denmark - Berlin 2008).

Looking at the description above one could ask the question: Is Berlin one of Europe's hotspots, being a cultural capital with many offers to its inhabitants and visitors? To that I most certainly answer YES!

In relation to that the next question might be: Is Berlin also one of the European boomtowns with economical growth and progress? To that I can only answer NO!

On the contrary Berlin is denoted a Shrinking City by the German Shrinking Cities project, suffering from decline in economy (Oswalt 2004). This means that Berlin, on the one hand, is a city with many cultural, recreational and social qualities and one the other, it is a city with economical problems. And that in spite of the fact that the German Government has made a lot of investments in Berlin since the reunification of Germany in 1989, when Berlin again became the capital of Germany.

But the reconstruction of Berlin as a new growth center with massive investments and the building of housing and office space have not had the desired effect. The city has not yet become a growth centre and the odds for being so seem against it.

Fig. 5 and 6: The economical problems of Berlin is especially evident in the former East Germany (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

Berlin has a very high unemployment rate with 277 211 persons (16, 5%) without job and an average income on 1 500 Euro in 2006 creating a low tax base (Berlin 2008). This high unemployment rate stands in stark contrast to other German cities. E.g. Frankfurt am Main, which is one of the leading financial centers of Europe, has only a total number of 37 217 unemployed persons in 2006 (Frankfurt 2008). This makes it obviously very difficult for Berlin to compete on economical issues. And the economical problems of Berlin are evidenced by the fact that there is a lot of free office space, many of the newly constructed buildings are standing empty and there are areas which have fallen into disrepair and are in a very bad state, mostly in the former east-German part of Berlin.

The story told about Berlin is a story about contrasts. These contrasts make it difficult to determine whether it is a positive or negative picture we have to paint of Berlin. But one thing is for sure, growth and decline seem to be interrelated and whether a city is growing or declining is not that easy to determine or at least we have to be very specific in how to define a shrinking or growing city.

**0.1.2 The Story of Shenzhen**

In order to emphasize the relation between growth and decline I would like to tell yet another short story. This is the story of Shenzhen which can be characterized as the opposite story of Berlin.

Shenzhen is one of the fastest growing cities in the world and can be denoted the powerhouse of China. It is the place where investors want to place their businesses and production plants and the growth is rapid. Overnight high rise buildings are planned and almost also constructed. The city of Shenzhen has a record of being the place where buildings are constructed in the fastest way (Craciun 2001: 209). And it has to go fast, because the goal is to create more profit than already achieved and in doing so the buildings constructed have to be bigger, better and taller than the ones built yesterday.

Shenzhen is situated in the Pearl River Delta, in southern China's Guangdong province near Hong Kong, and the speed in which the city has expanded is unbelievable. In just a few decades the city has experienced an enormous industrial activity and rapid population growth. People move to Shenzhen to get a small piece of the cake and take part in this boom. In 1980 there were only 30,000 inhabitants in an area of 10 square kilometers (Craciun 2001; 119), and from being a small village Shenzhen has transformed into a vibrant metropolis, with 8.4643 million permanent residents by the end of 2006 (Shenzhen Government Online 2008). Shenzhen is defined and spoken of as a city, but with a total area of 1,952.84 square kilometers[3] (Shenzhen Government Online 2008) it might better be seen as one big urban metropolis or region ( in comparison, the area of Berlin is 892 square kilometers (Berlin 2008)).

It is a city of sprawl - developing out into the countryside. Furthermore, it is a city of tabula rasa, which means that everything is removed which is not considered useful in the hunt for profit. It is more or less free to build whatever the investor wants to build in the name of development. Shenzhen is planned as a linear city based on a grid of infrastructure which is found suitable to organize the flows of capital (Craciun 2001: 123).

The Stock Exchange Index is skyrocketing (Craciun 2001) and the economy is booming. This boom has happened due to a certain economical zoning status. Shenzhen is one of the Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZ), established in 1979 as the first SEZ. In the 1970s the communist party in China led by Deng Xiaoping liberalized the economy of China, making it possible for commerce, production and technology

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Fig.7: The continious construction of sky scrapers (Photo: Gitte Marling)

to grow between China and the western world in specific zones – the SEZs – thus creating what could be denoted market based communism. This has created wealth in China, and especially the communist party has gained economically from this arrangement.

The question whether Shenzhen is a growing and booming city is not difficult to answer, that can be done by a simple YES!

But whether Shenzhen is a nice place to live with a good environment for its inhabitants becomes immediately more difficult to answer with a yes.

Due to the growth in Shenzhen, among other places, a new Chinese middle-class is emerging which is experiencing improved living conditions and economical wealth. But the majority of the Chinese people are still living without the fulfillment of ba-

sic needs and rights. They work many hours at a very low wage, have poor living conditions and overall, they can be described as the losers of this massive growth. Furthermore, this boomtown has a huge "floating" population, which means that former peasants and workers from inland provinces are living temporarily in Shenzhen without permit (Craciun 2001). These people who leave their hometown to work at the productions plants and construction sites are living in poor conditions in buildings where many are sharing small rooms, without light, sanity etc. and they only visit their families in the countryside once a year or less.

On top of that, the basic necessities in Shenzhen are undersupplied. The infrastructure, the sewer system and the power system can not follow the pace of the construction of buildings. Furthermore, the shortage of cheap housing is enormous. The obsession with expansion and growth creates an imbalance between the oversupplied commodity buildings and the undersupplied basic necessities, making it obvious that the city is developing on the terms of capital rather than responding to the needs of the population (Craciun 2001: 243).

Fig. 8: Masses of Chinese workers in Shenzhen (Photo: Gitte Marling)

The story of Shenzhen is therefore one of a booming metropolis with high growth rates where people and capital are flowing to the city. Investors from Western countries consider China and specifically Shenzhen the place where everything is happening. It is here they have to invest because China is such a big market. But the flipside of this development is the bad living conditions for the man in the street. There are low wages, no rights and very bad housing facilities and we might ask the question: is this kind of growing city something to aim for? The answer is ambiguous.

### 0.1.3 Berlin and Shenzhen Give Reason for Discussion

As mentioned earlier, Berlin and Shenzhen are examples of a polarized urban development that seems to be increasing in the future. Prognoses are pointing towards further differentiation between growing and declining territories where some territories will continue to grow rapidly and others will experience further decrease in population and economy. This means that these two urban development scenarios are not exceptions; rather they become general structures in contemporary civilization.
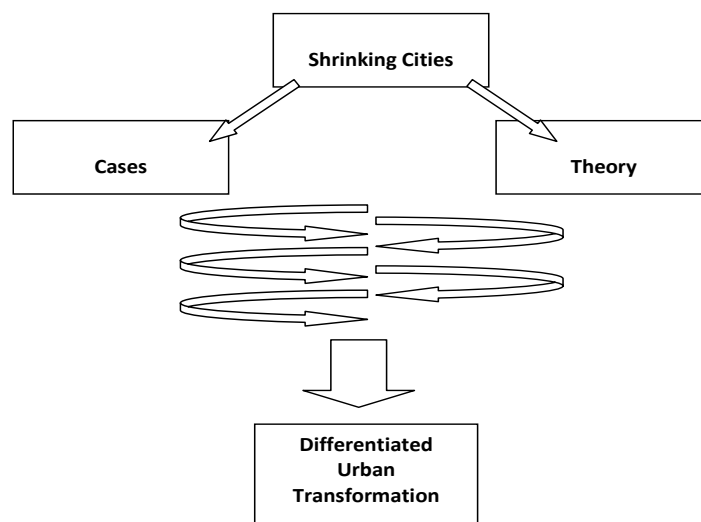


Fig.9: Diagram of the work-process. The starting point was the term shrinking cities and through the three case studies and the theoretical studies the research has developed as an iterative process. Through this process the term differentiated urban transformation has appeared as a new theoretical offshoot. However, the cases have not changed in this process, and they therefore show a more general, negative side of the term urban transformations, which means that they could go under the term negative urban transformation.

Thus, the two stories of Berlin and Shenzhen highlight the phenomenon of urban growth and decline and the stark relation between the two. It is, most certainly, not an unambiguous or simple story the two places tell us, even though Berlin and Shenzhen are denoted to be respectively declining and growing. On the contrary, the two stories tell us that both growing and declining areas contain both positive and negative conditions, structures and stories. It is the relation between a long row of either growing or declining factors and structures that together constitute a specific urban territory, the conception of it and its story.

In general, a positive narrative is connected with growth and expansion whereas decline is connected with collapse and decay – growth expands whereas decline shrinks the narrative possibilities (Beauregard 2005). Thus, it is a much more nuanced picture Berlin and Shenzhen tell us. Growth is not only positive as shown in the example from Shenzhen and decline is not only negative as the Berlin example shows. Thereby, Berlin and Shenzhen give reason for questioning whether it is possible to look at growth and decline separately and whether a term like shrinking cities is the right one to use, because it clearly concerns only one side of the problem.

What the two examples of Berlin and Shenzhen also tell us is that planning and urban design must generally be able to cope with different urban transformation scenarios, regardless of whether a territory is growing or declining. Berlin and Shenzhen show us that urban decline and urban growth are complex multiple scale conditions that occur locally with different spatial, social and cultural characteristics. It therefore is necessary to talk about planning solutions that are prepared to look at the specific needs, characteristics and potential of a given territory. In relation to this the German architectural bureau Urban Catalyst (2003), run by architects Klaus Overmeyer, Philipp Oswalt and Philipp Misselwitz, talks about planning that is able to deal with changing situations, that can be applied quickly, and that does not need major investments, but has the ability to establish synergy between the different stakeholders and the existing resources (Urban Catalyst 2003). Thus, as Berlin and Shenzhen show, it is not only important to look at the physical side but also to include social, cultural and economical issues. Hereby, the role of the planner is to moderate between cultural activities, political-economical structures, physical structures and the social capital of the given space.

In the growing areas the challenge lies in understanding and handling the processes of urban growth including rising house prices, traffic jams and pollution. On the

contrary, the challenges in the declining areas are the understanding and handling of, among other things, the surplus of built structures, the social and economical problems and the negative identity linked to being declining, shrinking and decaying.

For the territories that undergo negative urban development, the goal of renewed growth does not at first sight seem to be attainable. But instead of only thinking negatively about this lack of growth, the urban transformation that is happening could be seen as a chance to create and come up with alternatives to traditional planning and to re-think the present urban design and planning principle. Berlin exemplifies that a living urban environment is not necessarily related to growth. As mentioned, Berlin is a city in decline, but it is interesting because it has a number of other elements, such as social diversity and physical appeal with cultural heritage and landscape values, that can be included in the planning and story telling of Berlin. The positive aspects that Berlin has, confirm that growth is not the only guiding principle when we are planning our urban areas. This could be coined in Cathrin Bauer's expression: "stabilization rather than expansion and better rather than bigger" (Cathrin Bauer quoted in Beauregard 1993: 88). Thereby a third model of stabilization emerges, which stands between growth and decline. This stabilization model seems to deal with issues like urban quality, the every day life of the citizens, sustainability and good livable environment etc.; the Berlin case shows that these are important issues to have as planning goals in order to make habitable and vibrant cities.

**0.1.4 The Research Process - From Shrinking Cities to Urban Transformation**
The starting point of this PhD was set out to be an investigation of the term shrinking cities. More specifically: what is 'shrinking cities' and what are the future (urban design) ways of action related to these shrinking cities? Thereby, the approach was different from the one of e.g. an economist who would state that shrinking cities are about economy.

The emphasis was on examining the term shrinking cities as a contemporary, real life phenomenon and to look at which elements and development possibilities can be used in telling positive stories in areas of decline. Thereby, shrinking cities were conceived as something different from a growing city. The basis was a belief in Shrinking Cities as a term that most certainly had its justification and that the task lay within the designing of new design solutions applicable to these areas denoted shrinking cities.

As the thesis developed and I was getting deeper and deeper into the term Shrinking Cities, the emphasis shifted. The working process, as shown in fig.1, has been an iterative process changing between theoretical studies and case studies. As mentioned, the starting point was shrinking cities and the cases as well as the theory were chosen with that term as a point of departure. Through this process I found that in the context of planning and architecture the theoretical frame of urban shrinkage could still be developed or even questioned. One of the projects that I have been investigating is the German Shrinking Cities Project, which touches upon the importance of looking at planning and urban design solutions for areas in decline, and their work in particular resulted in uncovering the causes why an increasing number of territories in contemporary urbanity undergoes negative urban development (to learn more about the project read part I chapter 1.1.1 The Shrinking Cities Project). During the study of the Shrinking Cities project I became aware that there still can be made alterations and further developments in addition to the conception of urban shrinkage. As time went on, it was particularly the question of whether the term shrinking cities is comprehensive to use that became relevant to discuss. In relation to that the question of whether the term shrinking cities covers the transformation that is actually happening in real life also became interesting, highlighting the relation between what is happening in the real world and the term or the idea of shrinkage. Finally, the question of whether it is more appropriate to consider shrinking cities as being part of other development trends in contemporary urbanity appeared.

This contributed to a change in research focus where it became more obvious to talk about urban transformations or differentiated urban transformations rather than shrinking cities. Differentiated urban transformations may in my opinion contribute to a much more nuanced picture of the phenomenon being studied. Furthermore, urban transformations represent a more holistic approach that captures the different transformations occuring in contemporary urbanity, as the term deals with both growing and declining urban territories. Here growth and decline are related and connected as the short stories about Berlin and Shenzhen show. No territory is just declining or just growing but is containing both aspects in varying degrees. It is this nuanced picture that is the centre of rotation for the research questions of this dissertation. The term urban transformation can be considered a result of the theoretical and empirical investigations throughout the dissertation. It is not seen to be a direct reply to shrinking cities, but instead to be a concept that extends the discussion including both growth and decline.

**0.1.5 The Process of the Research – Differentiated Planning Solutions**

As the first part of the dissertation concerning shrinking cities expanded to become a broader discussion of urban transformations, the second part relating future ways of action also changed a bit in research focus. At first it seems comprehensive to expand the more narrow focus of discussing design strategies for declining territories to discussing design strategies in addition to differentiated planning solutions, which means design strategies for both growing and declining areas, because both growing and declining areas have potentials as well as challenges that need to be taken care of. On the other hand, it is also necessary to narrow down what is then the focus. This focus can initially be coined in the field between growth and decline, as mentioned previously in the third model of stabilization. Here the goal is to discuss which initiatives shall be activated in order to develop more positive stories in areas generally undergoing negative urban transformation. It is an attempt to look at other development goals than immediate urban growth. It is cities, parts of cities and regions which are experiencing transformation from one state to another and thus have to adapt to new purposes and/ or try to adapt to the current transformation they are undergoing - and make the best of it. Here there seems to be a need for creating variation – standing out from the crowd – and the telling of positive stories.

Fig. 10: Decline and decay in Detroit (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

Fig. 11: The growing metropolis New York (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

The two cases are the starting point for discussing design solutions dealing with the creation of positive urban narratives. The two cases represent overall areas undergoing negative urban development, but which are experiencing both growth and decline inside the territories. In the handling of growth and decline it is important to acknowledge that areas being either overall growing or declining have challenges and potentials and that  the same design and planning solutions cannot be applied in such cases. There are indications pointing towards the fact that an increased polarization will happen between territories and this inevitably means that we as urban designers and planners have to think in terms of differentiated strategies even more than previously. The reason why I then have chosen to look at strategies for areas that are struggling with decline is because throughout my PhD, I have been teased by the difficult question – what to do with the declining territories – do we preserve them, save them or just let them be?  In addition to this I have found out that through a strategic effort and the use of place based potentials some places can survive – creating positive stories. During my research I have also become aware that not all declining territories can be saved which means we alsoneed strategies for the phasing out of cities, as well.

As a starting point for this investigation I have chosen to look at the many different kinds of projects that have already been applying different initiatives in the two cases Baltimore and Denmark. By listing and analyzing the different interventions it becomes possible to discuss what they are able to do and what then is missing. Looking at different territories undergoing urban transformation the phenomenon

and its degree and extent vary and there are different policies and initiatives that have influenced the extent of the development. It is the job of architects, planners, and urban designers to work with the above aspects, and they are going to manage urban transformation in the frame of norms (artistic, technical, law norms etc.) which reflect the current opinions of the specific country or city. It is these norms that separate the different planning and design traditions, and these norms have a huge influence on the choice of strategy. By analysing existing interventions it becomes possible to find the strengths and weaknesses of existing designs and design proposals and to discuss what urban design solutions have to consist of in the future. This aims at presenting the construction of a frame or a set of guiding issues that can support the planning of areas undergoing negative urban development.

**0.1.6 Research Question**
From the process and research focus outlined above two areas of interest are highlighted: 1) to discuss territories undergoing transformation due to contemporary social changes and 2) to discuss possible ways of action by means of physical planning and urban design that can contribute to the telling of positive stories in territories undergoing negative urban development. The dissertation explores and discusses these two issues in an international context, with cases in Denmark and in the US, from an urban designer's viewpoint. This brings about a bipartite research question and a number of supplementary questions, which unfold the two research questions.

The first research question and its five supplementary questions will form the foundation of a discussion within urban theory. It will discuss the different conceptualizations used to describe the urban development of growth and decline taking place in contemporary urbanity. With the introduction of the term shrinking cities it is claimed by among others the German Shrinking Cities project that we can talk about a whole new urban phenomenon. In relation to that it could be questioned whether urban shrinkage is just a new articulation of a phenomenon that until now has been best known under the term of urban decline and whether it is at all possible to talk about shrinking cities? Therefore, an important part of the dissertation consists in investigating, discussing and elaborating on the term shrinking cities.

*1 What are the contemporary urban development tendencies and what conceptions can be used to describe these urban tendencies?*

      - How is the relation between urban growth and urban decline?

      - What are the tendencies, such as globalization, deindustrialization and neoliberalization that reinforce differentiated urban transformations?

      - Does the term shrinking cities cover the transformation that is actually happening in real life?

      - Is the term shrinking cities a comprehensive conceptualization to use or are others more fruitful?
      - What could a more holistic term contribute with?

The second research question addresses the question of urban design solutions and the telling of positive urban stories. Urban growth is often seen as a goal for planning and architecture when developing urban territories. But with the presence of both urban growth and decline it is inevitable to also talk about strategies and designs that do not presuppose growth as the immediate goal.

*2 What are the challenges for planners and urban designers in territories undergoing transformations due to contemporary social changes – what strategies and actions can support a positive every day life and visual and architectonic values?*

      - Which urban design elements can contribute to a good living environment and to the telling of positive urban stories?

      - What are the characteristics, the strengths and weaknesses of design projects conducted in Baltimore and Denmark?

      - What can be included as elements in a planning solution for areas struggling with decline?

**0.1.7 Findings**

It is the answers to the above research questions that form the basis for the conclusion. The main areas of conclusion concern the relation between the different questions and subjects of interest. I will point at different understandings and relations that lead to an opening of urban transformation and discuss future ways of action in territories of urban transformation from an urban design approach. The dissertation contributes to new knowledge inside the field of urban transformation with the following:

- Discussion of conception and clarification of conception

- Introduction of a relational and holistic approach to urban growth and decline in the term of urban transformation

- Invention of a model for analyzing urban transformation

- Intervention of a model for analyzing design projects

- Providing insight into existing design projects and their strengths and weaknesses in order to discuss positive story making and encircle applicable urban design strategies

- Putting  the challenges of the design profession into perspective ,both in relation to the theoretical frame of understanding and to the urban design professional solutions

## 0.2 RESEARCH FOCUS AND METHODOLOGY

This second chapter of the first part deals with the construction of a frame wherein the PhD research can be conducted. More specifically, this frame will include the issue of research methodology.

The dissertation will be presented as a theoretical and empirical study, taking its point of departure in an urban design approach. This means that the dissertation tries to integrate both empirical and theoretical knowledge in the belief that this can contribute to a more nuanced picture of the issues investigated.  In relation to this, the issue of interpretation is considered important to discuss, where both the empirical and theoretical material is attributed interpretation.

Furthermore, the method of case studies will be presented as the research method. In addition to that the chapter will introduce the two cases Baltimore and Denmark. In relation to that, issues like the justification of the cases, validity, data-gathering etc. are dealt with.

**0. 2.0 Urban Design Approach**
In this dissertation the subject of investigation is a social and urban design phenomenon taken out of a real life context and therefore it represents a piece of reality. This means that the phenomenon has different geographical contexts with different nature-given conditions, technological premises, social and political conditions, cultural traditions etc., conditions which change over time (Næss, 2004). Therefore, urban transformations emerge from a complex relationship between general economic, social and cultural development trends and specific regional development contexts.

The overall approach to this phenomenon is through an urban design approach. Urban design is known for placing the physical aspect in the center of attention where physical intervention matters. Focus is often on the shaping and designing of space and on discussing how to develop the urban in future. This approach of designing the urban is related to a place-specific starting point, meaning that the physical place in many different scales is the main area of interest. Thereby my view is different from e.g. the one of sociologist or economists that also engages in the field of urban transformation.

The dissertation sees urban design as a possible way of improving the living conditions for human beings. This is related to the fact that I am raised and schooled in

Fig. 12 and 13: Left Hyde Park, London and, right public space in Vienna (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

Denmark and, thereby, my normative starting point is to some degree influenced by the idea of welfare and that quality of life in some way or another is desirable.

Related to this design perspective the understanding and exploring of the urban fabric is of great importance, because just as urban phenomena, from an urban design perspective need designing, they are also theoretical subjects that need to be investigated and understood. Thus, there is a connection in urban design between theory and design which is relevant and important in order to be able to work in the field of urban design, in a determined way.

In addition, this spatial and physical starting point is not possible without also having an understanding of a range of other subjects such as culture, economy, social relations, political consideration, social theory etc.,because these structures influence or constitute the physical space,which means that the urban is a product of architectural, economical and social conditions, among other things. This means that the urban is more than just the physical structures. Professor of urban design Ali Madanipour (1996) emphasizes that as urban designers we look at space as a combination of people and objects, and in order to understand urban design we will need to understand the urban space and the processes that produce it. This

gives a definition of urban design as a socio-spatial process where urban design is understood as an agglomeration of people, objects and events (Madanipour 1996: 3). From this perspective, Madanipour argues that the best possible way to understand the urban is by working in the intersection between space production and everyday life (madanipour 1996: 218). In order to understand these intersections and to be able to design within them, Madanipour states that we need to know "about the political, economical and cultural processes that produce and use urban space" (Madanipour 1996:218) and, consequently, urban design "can promote a socio-spatial agenda in which both social and aesthetic concerns matter" (Madanipour 1996: 219).

The fact that the urban is more a process of several things was also stated in the Athen Charter of CIAM[4]. Here it is said that "a city is part of a geographic, economic, social, cultural and political unit", (Athen Charter, from CIAM) (Madanipour s.46) and therefore we also have to focus on all these things when dealing with the urban structures and to look at cities both from above (political, economical cultural space) and from below (everyday life) (Madanipour 1996: 87).

But not only is the profession of urban design constituted by several topics of interest, from e.g. physical to social, urban design is also one discourse in a field of many related professions and approaches. The subject of urban design is very broad and operates in the intersection of separate disciplines such as landscape architecture, planning, geography, social science, sociology, design and architecture etc. and in recent years a link has also been made to the discipline of landscape urbanism.

All things considered, an authoritative urban design definition does not exist. There are differences between American and European definitions of urban design and even inside Europe there are differences. Anne Moudon (2003) deals with the profession of urban design when she in her article *A Catholic Approach to Organizing What Urban designers should Know* investigates the "nature and grounds of knowledge necessary to practice urban design" (2003: 362). Moudon (2003: 362) defines the approach she takes towards this as catholic, thus suggesting an approach that is broad in sympathies, tastes, and interests.

Also urban scholar Leonie Sandercock (1998) is an advocate for a broad definition of urban design in order not to change definitions every decade. According to Sandercock, this broad definition is obtained by identifying urban design and planning as

constituted by a set of ever changeable socio-spatial processes (Sandercock 1998: 222). On the basis of that, Sandercock (1998: 225) develops five subjects or literacies that she thinks future planners and urban designers have to be able to work with and thereby constitute subjects that an urban design or planning education should obtain. The five literacies are: 1) technical literacy which deals with e.g. basic statistics, computing, data-collection etc. 2) analytical literacy - the ability to handle and analyze urban problems 3) multicultural literacy is about handling the ethnic, racial and cultural diversity of contemporary cities 4) ecological literacy is about working with the ecological processes in urban design and 5) design literacy is about how to design the urban (Sandercock 1998: 225-230).

**Urban Design and Landscape Urbanism**
In this dissertation a link will be made to landscape urbanism, which means that the basic understanding of the urban in this thesis is influenced by the ideas of landscape urbanism. Landscape urbanism is a recently invented field that merges the two disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture[5]. This approach marks the dissolution of the two dual concepts of nature and culture and the dilution of the traditional hierarchy of the city with a centre and a periphery. The best known thinkers of this discipline are Charles Waldheim, James Corner and Mohsen Mostafavi and the best example to describe what landscape urbanism is, may be both Thschumi's winning scheme and Rem Koolhass' second place proposal to the Parc de la Villette in Paris.

Associate Dean and Director of the Landscape Architecture program of the Faculty of Architecture, Landscape, and Design at the University of Toronto, Charles Waldheim addresses the status of the discipline in the opening chapter in the *Landscape Urbanism Reader* from 2006 in the first 4 lines of the introduction, when he writes: "Across a range of disciplines, landscape has become a lens through which the contemporary city is represented and a medium through which it is constructed. These sentiments are evident in the emergent notion of "landscape urbanism"" (Waldheim, 2006, 15). In this landscape urbanism approach the landscape is more than just a traditional pastoral understanding of green areas, but can additionally be described as an urban landscape in the way that Alex Wall does it, where it becomes a ground plane of the city: "In describing the landscape as urban surface……I refer to the extensive and inclusive ground-plane of the city, to the "field" that accommodates buildings, roads, utilities, open spaces, neighborhoods, and natural habitats." (Wall 1999: 233)

Fig. 14: Liberary in Delft by Mekano an example of an urban landscape appraoch (Photo: Lasse Andersson)

This inclusive definition refers to an approach where the city in combination with the open structures is understood as an urban landscape. Thereby it is not only the open green areas of the city that are understood as landscape but also the architecture and infrastructure enter into a holistic landscape approach. This is related to the fact that increased merging, dilution and blurredness are taking place between built-, open- and infra-structures, creating a hybrid condition (De Geyter 2002). Architects like Rem Koolhaas, Adriaan Geuze, Xaveer de Geyter, Alex Wall, among others, do not find it comprehensive to see the city as being the opposite of the country, and instead of seeing city and countryside as separate they see an urban landscape.

*"The traditional notion of the city as a historical and institutional core surrounded by postwar suburbs and then open countryside has been largely replaced by a more polycentric and web like sprawl: the regional metropolis." (Wall, 1999: 234)*

Landscape urbanism is part of an emerging direction inside urban design, architecture, planning and landscape architecture where the urban is considered a changeable process into which social, economical and cultural aspects are important to incorporate, when designing and planning the urban fabric. This means that it is important to diagnose the urban and use local as well as global conditions as a point of departure. Urban scholars like Graham Shane (2005) and Ole B. Jensen (2007B) argue that landscape urbanism is linked with the work of Kevin Lynch. Here it is the analytical approach with the combination and hybridization of themes like city and countryside, in and out, figure and ground etc. that resemble the work of Lynch (Jensen 2007B).

Landscape urbanism is part of a tradition which claims that traditional planning is lacking effectiveness and that there is a need for thinking differently. This critique of planning and the emphasis on the procedural resemble another post modern design theory, the new pragmatic design perspective[6] that may be best coined in the work and ideas of Rem Koolhaas. Both new pragmatists and landscape urbanists try to come up with new views on how to handle the contemporary city, trying to distance themselves to the neo-rational and modernist way of working with the city, while attempting to capture the changeable processes of the city. But the two approaches are not just similar. Landscape Urbanism is distinct in its focus on sustainability and ecology. Furthermore, landscape urbanism considers the landscape as being a central part of the city and of the planning of the city. Thereby, the landscape becomes a controlling element with its ability to connect, structure, and bind.

In particular, landscape urbanism is found to be relevant as an analytical and design tool in complex natural environments, post-industrial sites, public infrastructure, and as a tool to handle the massive urban sprawl. Furthermore, Charles Waldheim et al have, in their book Stalking Detroit (2001), combined landscape urbanism with the phenomenon of urban decline as it is the fate for the former industrial city of Detroit. Thereby, landscape urbanism can to some extent operate in the broad field from urban sprawl to urban decline and in this thesis landscape urbanism will be seen as a possible approach for capturing urban transformations in its broad variety – from growth to decline. This is both in addition to diagnosing urban transformation and in the designing of new interventions.



Fig. 15: The use of landscape in IBA Emscher Park, Germany (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

**0.2.1 The Theoretical and Empirical Study**

Thus, the field of urban design can, as the above shows, be seen as a profession that is analytical and design oriented – urban design tries both to analyze the contemporary urban fabric, the specific site, the topic of interest and to make intervention by designing the urban fabric both strategically and specifically. Urban design can, therefore, be seen as a design practice on the one hand and as a field of urban theory, on the other. As a result, this dissertation combines analysis and design/practice as well as theory and empirical data where the interaction between the urban landscape and the social life taking place is of great interest. This approach will, therefore, try to interpret negative urban development through subjects, which are also relevant to other professions, like esthetics, social theory, design, space, globalization, contemporary urbanity etc.

It is for this reason that the dissertation is conducted through both literature and case studies where a field of tension between the empirical material and the theoretical and methodological perspectives exists (Andersen et al. 1992). The combination of the literature and cases shall contribute to both a general but more scientific knowledge and a more specific and detailed view of the subject studied. The idea is that the literature studies and the case studies will create interplay throughout the dissertation and thus generate a dynamic research process. Furthermore, the combination of literature studies and case studies is seen as an added strength when the two supplement each other. E.g. the empirical study as a segment of reality can contribute to the understanding of a phenomenon, and the theoretical work makes it possible to insert the phenomenon into a greater whole, where a theoreti-

**Literature studies (theoretical)    Case studies (empirical)**
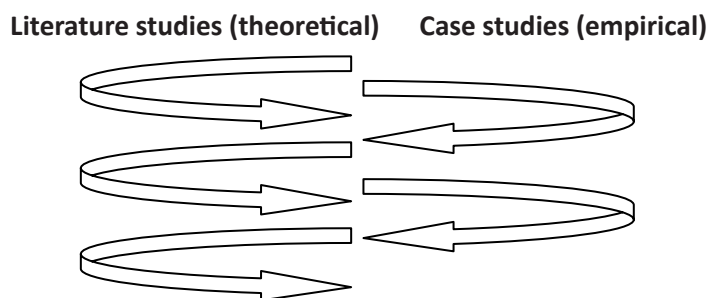


Fig. 16: Interaction between case studies and literature studies. This process will also be evident in the report structure where the theoretical reflections together with the cases will form the background for discussing new conceptualizations and later the cases together with theoretical material will frame a discussion concerning differentiated planning solutions

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cal reference frame is important when making interpretations (Alvesson and Skjöld-berg 1994; 210) Furthermore, literature studies are closely linked to researching the state of the art of a specific field. And by writing this thesis I myself add some knowledge to the state of the art concerning shrinking cities and differentiated urban development.

The empirical and theoretical material will not be used in the typical, positivistic way of induction where one first collects the empirical data and then afterwards develops a theory on the basis of the empirical material (Pahuus, 2004). Instead there will be a continuous interplay between the empirical material and the theory where the two combined can contribute to explaining and further developing the discussion of urban transformation. Moreover, it is possible to give some indications of how to deal with differentiated urban transformation by investigating existing design proposals and possible design strategies. This means that during the research process an alternation between theory and empirical data happens and that the initial hypothesis develops or changes in that process (Alvesson and Skjöld-berg 1994; 42).

An example of how this exchange between literature and case studies has helped me in my own research and contributed to developing it is the fact that originally the subject of my dissertation was shrinking cities. The assignment was to investigate this term of shrinking cities and come up with future ways of action. But as my research progressed and as a result of looking critically at both the theoretical and empirical material, I discovered that the term shrinking cities was not adequate to use and I decided to use the term differentiated urban transformations instead, giving the dissertation a more critical perspective. The critical element lies in the fact that the term shrinking cities is questioned and the theory further developed to reveal the term differentiated urban transformation.

**0.2.2 Interpretation**
In order to make the empirical and theoretical material usable it has to undergo a process of interpretation. Through the act of interpretation the different bits and pieces that have been gathered of respectively empirical and theoretical material will be combined in a certain manner. This will result in the construction of one conclusion out of many possible ones.

This means that in relation to interpretation there are two factors:  the thing being interpreted and the interpreter. Thus, interpretation is based on the different

data, the methods used, the research question and the subjective opinion of the researcher. Therefore, interpretation is subjective and not objective, meaning the output is influenced by the approach of the writer.

Interpretation is often related to the hermeneutic method; Gardamer, Heidegger, and Dilthey are among the key thinkers in the hermeneutic tradition. Hermeneutics can be translated to being the art of interpretation and, originally, the hermeneutic method  was developed in relation to interpretation of theology, humanities, and the meaning of text (Andersen, 1994a; 158). The hermeneutic method builds upon the assumption that any document or text is created by a subject and an interpretation of it must involve the reconstruction of the subjective state of mind of the writer of the text (Andersen, 1994a; 158).

Thus today hermeneutics is broadened to cover not only mere texts but it is also used in social science and the study of human phenomenon in general (Andersen, 1994a; 158). The possibly best known classical, social scientist inspired by the hermeneutic method is the German jurist , sociologist and economist Max Weber (1864-1920) (Andersen, 1994a; 158). Weber's classical theory of the bureaucracy that contains an idealized model of the typical features of the hierarchical, work divided, rule governed, expert based and efficiency oriented hierarchy is a way of describing organizations as social phenomenon that demands interpretation of the subjective content of meaning underlying the phenomenon (Andersen, 1994a; 158). This is a hermeneutic method where in order to understand the system you have to understand it from inside. In the case of bureaucracy, you have to understand the norms and values connected with bureaucracy and its concept of rationality (Andersen, 1994a; 159).

One of the objections towards hermeneutics is, according to sociologist Heine Andersen, the issue of subjectivity.  When the interpretation is related to something subjectively experienced, as opposed to something objectively observable, then the output of the interpretation is subjective. (Andersen, 1994a; 160). This means according to the example of Weber's theory of the bureaucracy that the interpretation of bureaucracy is relative to one's own evaluations and experiences of bureaucracy (Andersen, 1994a; 160). Thus, the purpose of interpretation is to overcome and dissolve the prejudice through dialogue and mutual criticism and to create mutual inter-subjective interpretations of the subjective content (Andersen, 1994a; 160).

Further, Heine Andersen states that another objection towards hermeneutics re-volves around the thought that interpretation and the understanding of the subjec-tive content of action is not an alternative to the positivist, casual explanation but is a supplement – a method with which one can get ideas to make hypothesis about casual connections (Andersen, 1994a; 160). But from an interpretive perspective, the answer to this is that a statistical analysis is not relevant (Andersen, 1994a; 161).

In this dissertation the method of interpretation can be useful in the sense that through interpretation of both cases and literature I am trying to develop new knowledge about differentiated urban transformations, which means that I "read" the phenomenon through theoretical and empirical observations. Thereby, theo-retical and empirical knowledge is not as separated as in natural science but creates together the knowledge of this dissertation (Alvesson and Skjöldberg 1994; 166). As figure 16 shows, the interplay between literature and case studies conducted in this dissertation can be related to the hermeneutic circle (see figure 17). Originally, the hermeneutic circle was used in the interpretation of text where this goes between the understanding of the text as a whole and the individual parts of the text. The meaning of the hermeneutic circle is to alternate between the part and the whole and by doing so obtaining a greater insight in the topic of research (Alvesson and Skjöldberg 1994; 116). Many find it more adequate to talk about the hermeneutic spiral (Pahuus 2004; Andersen 1994a) because you do not go from the parts back to the whole, but instead you go up to a higher and revised level and the loops seem to be never-ending. In the hermeneutic spiral the researcher has a specific starting point, a pre-understanding from which the investigations originate. Through this
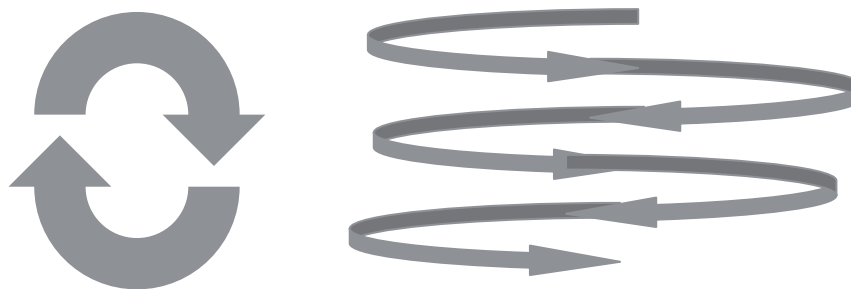


Fig.17: Left the principle behind the hermeneutic circle and, right the principle behind the hermeneutic spiral

pre-understanding a row of expected findings is set up in relation to what will come forward in the interpretation. These expectations are then compared with the subject of investigation, a dialogue between the expectations and the subject of investigation appears, and alterations and interpretations will continue to happen. This will finally result in a new frame of understanding. Then a new investigation can/will take place – it is a never-ending process.

Thereby the procedure is an important aspect of interpretation, and the method of interpretation is useful as a tool in the working process. This means that I use an interpretive method that shifts between theoretical and empirical knowledge and in this way creates a dynamic working process. In traditional hermeneutics another key element is the life world of the people and their subjective pictures. Thereby, in relation to a social phenomenon the topic of interest is the reasons causing the actors do as they do and to interpret their reasons and not to look at the causes behind. Looking at the causes and finding casual explanations for why a phenomenon appears as it does is in contrast to this perspective. In my thesis I will not follow this distinction of causes and reasons but on the other hand argue for a combination of the two. This is done because in the casual sciences there are elements of interpretation just as when interpreting social phenomena there seem to be underlying causes. In this thesis there are causes that make things happen and these undergo interpretation, which implies they undergo an analysis with a certain view. I among others try to understand why an increased spatial differentiation is taking place due to a number of causes.

### 0.2.3 Critical Interpretive Approach

Apart from being inspired by the hermeneutic interpretive method the thesis has a critical, analytical, reflective approach that questions how to talk about growth and decline in contemporary urbanity. Whereas the hermeneutic approach lies in the workingprocess then the critical element lies in to the handling of the material where I question or investigate the material critically.

The critical element becomes evident in the fact that I question the already existing discussions on the subject and try to bring new elements into the discussion. The dissertation seeks to evaluate the term shrinking cities and attempts to question this term by talking about differentiated urban transformations. In this sense, I will take a critical view of the phenomenon and its relevance and relationship to the society it is a part of. Furthermore, there are different interests in and perceptions

of the phenomenon, and I intend to look critically at the phenomenon and try to decide how to best approach it in the future.

In theory of science, this critical element is denoted critical theory, when critical reflection of social phenomena is the interest of the researcher. Critical theory has the thesis that social matters are historically made and strongly affected by power and special interests and they therefore are subjected to radical change (Alvesson and Skjöldberg 1994; 170).Critical theory is also know as critical hermeneutics and there are strong links between traditional hermeneutics and critical theory. One of the thinkers inside critical theory is the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas who has his background in the Frankfurter School with Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse (Andersen, 1994b). One of the theories that has inspired critical theory is the work of Karl Marx. Furthermore, critical theory is inspired by the Enlightenment, the interpretive tradition and the empirical-analytical tradition (Andersen 1994b).

One could say that Habermas is placed in the cross-field between traditional hermeneutics and the critical theory of the Frankfurter School. He criticizes traditional hermeneutics for being unable to conduct social criticism and for having a philosophy of history with a preservative observance, and he criticizes the critical theory of the Frankfurter school for missing a hermeneutic dimension.

The word critical is as the title says a key word in critical theory. This is related to the fact that within critical theory the opinion is that the social sciences have to act critically towards the social relations they are investigating (Andersen 1994b, 183). One of the basic theory of science views in critical theory is the idea that analyses of society are themselves part of the social development, they deal with (Andersen 1994b, 187). And what is interesting, when critical theory is to be applied the focus is the real, fundamental social conditions in all their complexity, where the idea is that social life contains both a subjective and an objective level (Andersen 1994b, 188). Thereby critical theory tries to develop a method that can unite both participant and spectator views, both the subjective life world understanding and the objective life world understanding and, both the hermeneutic interpretation of meanings and the empirical, analytical causality analysis (Andersen 1994b, 190). Thereby, when critical theory looks at social conditions, it involves a critical analysis of difference, conflicts, power relations and oppression in society (Andersen 1994b, 191).Critical theory wants to change this as the goal is social emancipation. This becomes evident in two central terms within critical theory, which are the system

and the life world, which have the purpose to indicate the interactions between the different individuals and actors in society (Andersen 1994b, 197).

As the two previous chapters show, this thesis is placed in the cross-field of hermeneutics and critical theory. I operate with elements from both approaches and when combining the interpretive and the critical it could be called a critical interpretative approach. Thus, this critical interpretive view is an attempt to critically reflect on both the theory and empirical observations I make. What interests me is the interpretation of the phenomenon of shrinking cities in a critical perspective. This critical interpretation aims to unveil new aspects of the term and even question its relevance. In relation to this, I look at what has created this development, which makes it possible for different interpretations to be present.

### 0.2.4 The Method of Case Studies

A case study can be a very useful method for throwing light upon a phenomenon within a real life context such as urban transformation. Rolf Johansson (2000) sees the study of a case as contributing to better explaining and understanding of the phenomenon that is being investigated[7]. In this dissertation, case studies are defined as an empirical inquiry into a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, where the geographical boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003; 13, Johansson, 2000). This complexity and the blurred boundary between context and case together with the writer's own subjectivity mean that the results and conclusions made are only one interpretation of many. Consequently, the output of the case study is influenced by the pre-established criteria for how to investigate the case and the subjective analysis of the data. Therefore, a case study is "both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry." (Stake, 2003: 136) This means that case studies can be used to tell something about the different parts of the case as well as the relation between the parts.

In the field of urban design, the use of case studies is very applicable, because urban design is a practical profession where a case can be a process that reveals new information about a place and it can also be the result: that is the designed place being the result (Johansson, 2000). This usability of cases in urban design is related to the fact that the starting point for case studies within theory of science is that of hermeneutics and phenomenology and thereby within the tradition of understanding and interpreting (Flyvbjerg, 1988).

The strength of the case study is that it is a direct observation of the event being studied, but, moreover, the truly unique strength lies in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence such as documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations (Yin, 2003). It becomes possible to collect and analyze data shedding light on the different layers and the relation between them in order to get a nuanced picture of a complex phenomenon. In this dissertation, the case studies combined with theoretical analysis will contribute to the understanding of differentiated urban transformations and, supplemented by the existing design projects in the two cases, give an insight in what to do in the future.

**0.2.5 Case Study Categorization and Generalization**
One of the issues that many different scholars look into in addition to case studies is the categorizations of different types of case studies. In this dissertation I will look at the categorizations made by Robert Stake and Bent Flyvbjerg.

Professor Robert Stake operates in his book *Case Studies* from 2003 with three different types of case; the intrinsic, the instrumental and the collective case study. He is, however, aware that it is difficult to fit a given case study into just one of the categories. The intrinsic case study is a case study undertaken, because the researcher wants to understand this specific case better. Thereby, the goal is just to look at the case and not to illustrate a particular phenomenon (Stake 2003, 136). On the contrary, the instrumental case study is a study of a case which will mainly provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization (Stake 2003, 137). Here the specific case is not the interesting point, but the aim is to get a greater insight into a specific topic. Finally, the collective case study is a study of several cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition and this can be seen as an instrumental case study just with several cases (Stake 2003, 138).

Professor of Planning Bent Flyvbjerg is also working with cases and the issue of generalization. Two of his works on case studies, namely his book *Rationalitet og Magt – Det konkretes videnskab* (1991)[8] and the 2006 paper *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research* have been used for the following. Behind the arguments of Flyvbjerg lies a discussion about the natural sciences and the empirical-analytical science ideal. The natural sciences do not see case studies as scientific and Flyvbjerg argues against this.

In the matter of generalization, Flyvbjerg states that it is wrong to claim it is not possible to make generalizations from one single case. On the contrary, it depends on the case and how it is chosen (Flyvbjerg 1991: 145). The example Flyvbjerg is using to prove this statement is the experiment of Galileo. Galileo drops two objects from a tower and through this experiment he discovers that weight has to be eliminated as a decisive factor for the acceleration in free fall (Flyvbjerg 1991: 146). Galileo used only one experiment and thereby just one case to come up with the conclusion.

A case like Galileo's is by Flyvbjerg denoted a critical case (Flyvbjerg 1991: 146), meaning that if Galileo's thesis was valid for the material used, then it also could be expected to be valid for all, or a wide range of materials (Flyvbjerg 1991: 146). Hereby, Flyvbjerg states that a single case study in some instances is sufficient to get the conclusions wanted. Thus, Flyvbjerg follows by saying that the choice of method must be relative to the circumstance and "why use a shotgun when you can use a rifle" (Flyvbjerg 1991: 147). But by saying that we can learn something from case studies, Flyvbjerg does not claim that is the only method to use or that it shall overrule other methods. On the contrary, he says that in some matters case studies are the right method and in other matters large random samples or entire populations are preferable. To sum up Flyvbjerg's opinion the following quotation is relevant:

*"One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the force of example" is underestimated."* (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 228)

According to Flyvbjerg,the possibility of generalization in case studies can be increased by strategically selecting critical cases.

*"When the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given phenomenon or phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy. This is because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information. Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied."* (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 229)

| Type of Selection | Purpose |
|---|---|
| A Random selection | To avoid systematic biases in the sample. The sample's size is decisive for generalization. |
|    1. Random sample | To achieve a representative sample that allows for generalization for the entire population. |
|    2. Stratified sample | To generalize for specially selected subgroups within the population. |
| B. Information-oriented selection | To maximize the utility of information from small samples and single cases. Cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content. |
|    1. Extreme/deviant cases | To obtain information on unusual cases, which can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense. |
|    2. Maximum variation cases | To obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome (e.g. three to four cases that are very different on one dimension: size, form of organization, location, budget) |
|    3. Critical cases | To achieve information that permits logical deductions of the type, "If this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases." |
|    4. Paradigmatic cases | To develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain that the cases concerns. |

Fig.18: Strategies for selection of cases  (from Flyvbjerg, 2006, 230)

As figure 18 shows, Flyvbjerg is working with different categorizations of cases. According to Flyvbjerg, the different kinds of case types do not eliminate one another and it is possible that a case is more than one type. The three types Flyvbjerg extracts for further attention are the critical case, the extreme case and the paradigmatic case. The extreme cases can according to Flyvbjerg be suitable for making a point in a dramatic way whereas the critical case can be defined as a case which is strategic in addition to an overall problem (Flyvbjerg 1991, 149). An overall generalization condition for critical cases is that if the problem is valid in the case being studied then it is also valid in all (or many) cases with the same problem (Flyvbjerg

1991, 151). Finally, the paradigmatic case is a prototype that functions as a metaphor and contributes to the creation of a school dealing with the area of the case (Flyvbjerg 1991, 152). There are no standards, as such, because the paradigmatic case vastly sets the standards itself (Flyvbjerg 1991, 153).

### 0.2.6 Explainers and Explorers

With basis in Flyvbjerg and Stake who both state that in order to get the best case study "results" it is necessary to determine what kind of case study is being conducted, I will try to explain how the cases studied in this thesis are to be understood where they seem to be positioned in the cross-field between different approaches.

According to the categorization made by Stake, none of his categorizations fits directly with the cases in this case study, but the one that fits the best is the instrumental case study because I use the cases to give insight into an specific issue, among other things; here, this is territories that have been described as a shrinking city, but where the cases are intended to shed light upon the usability of the term. However, this is not conducted in order to make generalizations from these cases to a general level. Stake usually talks of case studies in relation to social science where generalization is often the aim which can be seen reflected in his categorization of cases. Generalization is not always the 'goal' in urban design, because this tradition is very aware of the uniqueness and special character of a case which is related to the fact that cases in urban design are place based and have a geographical demarcation. In addition, the output in urban design case studies is often action in terms of either design strategies or physical design, directly applicable to the specific case.

Just as with the categorization of Stake none of Flyvbjergs categories are directly applicable to my cases. However, the one that fits the best is the critical case. In relation to my work, the critical case is meant to be understood as a case where I critically examine the term of shrinking cities; looking at whether the term shrinking cities corresponds to what actually is happening with urban territories in real life.

The way I use the case studies in this thesis is as explainers and explorers. The cases are explainers because they can contribute to exemplify different aspects of urban transformations. Here I use the cases to explain how two specific territories appear. In this I specifically look at how the aspects of urban decline appear in order to explain whether a term like shrinking cities is fruitful to use. On the other hand, case

studies as explorers refer to the fact that case studies can be used to explore new aspects of urban development and point out different problems or plans of action that can be developed into future interventions. Here, I try to explore whether other conceptions than shrinking cities are more comprehensive to use, in the cases. This means that, according to both exploring and explaining, I have a critical view on respectively the cases and the theory I investigate in the cases. The idea of the case studies as both explainers and explorers is that they can contribute to and expand the discussion and the research of differentiated urban transformation. Furthermore, the case studies will create a connection between reality and theory.

In the case studies I look at "what is there". What do two contemporary urban territories look like, what are the characteristics and how do they appear. This is a bit like the work done by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown in their investigations of Las Vegas in their book *Learning from Las Vegas* from 1977. They also looked at what is there, and among other things they found that the use of signs was particularly frequent in Las Vegas. They therefore made an analysis of the signs, investigating what the use of signs means and how the signs are constructed. From this analysis they developed new conceptions like the decorated shed, the duck etc. Thus, they analyze what is out there and they go into the urban phenomena in order to say something about the urban development.

Venturi and Scott Brown worked, like Flyvbjerg, with an extreme case - Las Vegas is an extreme case of city. They said that even though everything is very extreme in Las Vegas, the things seen in Las Vegas can be seen in other cities, in some way or another. If I should have chosen an extreme case, a city like Detroit would have been suitable. However, I chose two characteristic cases that can tell something about urban territories under transformation. The two cases can be considered to be clear cases to use as explainers and explorers.

As the cases are urban territories they are defined by a spatial demarcation. In this spatial demarcation different processes are at play such as social, cultural and economical processes, which affect the spatial area. This gives a complex state that seems to call for a holistic[9] approach. Here the cases are seen as situational and influenced by happenings of many kinds and all these processes and structures are interrelated (Stake, 2003: 141–142). According to Stake: "…..phenomena are intricately related through many coincidental actions and that understanding them requires looking at a wide sweep of contexts: temporal and spatial, historical, politi-

cal, economic, cultural, social, and personal" (Stake 1995: 43). Holism means understanding a thing in its totality and thus understanding the relations between the different parts. This means that the dissertation will look at the relations between the different subjects in a holistic study. Here case studies are comprehensive to use because they make it possible to look at the relations and the connections between them.

**0.2.7 The Narrative Technique**
By using the approach of exploring and explaining the cases are investigated along the way. In order to capture this developing process the cases are written as a kind of story telling, which means that the way of describing the cases will be inspired by the narrative technique.

To narrate is to tell a story about something. It is an interpretation of certain actions and relations which is constructed into a plot. This means that a phenomenon or a case has more than one narrative and that the told narrative is one interpretation of the given events, actors, context etc.

*"No phenomena can have only one narrative or a single genealogy, just as no historical situation can be explained as having emerged out of total necessity."* (Flyvbjerg, 1998:8)

In the narrative method the plot is constructed in accordance with Aristotle's three elements of drama, with a beginning, a middle and an end (Aristoteles, 2004). The beginning sets the scene – builds up a plateau for the story. The middle tells the story with the tensions and conflicts in focus. Finally, the end ties the story up with a new plateau that sets a new scene, which is either uplifting or disturbing, but in any case inspiring.

In Flyvbjergs book Rationality and Power, Flyvbjerg uses the narrative method to tell the story of Aalborg. (Flyvbjerg, 1998). By doing that he tells the story of Aalborg in addition to events, "simply recording what happened on such a day, in such a place, in such a context" (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 8). The plot about Aalborg is thus written according to the elements: time, place, actors, actions, consequences, tension/conflict and context.

Further, Flyvbjerg is operating with two plots because in an academic narrative there has to be a theoretical element, with concepts, ideas and theories supporting the story. Thus, plot one is the immediate plot of actors and actions, and plot two is the conceptual plot; thereby the story switches between the general and a more in-depth inquiry (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 8).

But as Flyvbjerg states, then narratives do "not only give meaning to our past experiences, they also help us envision alternative futures" (Flyvbjerg, 1998:8). In the narrative method a duality is incorporated which can be used as a method to describe a phenomenon as well as a possible result – telling a new narrative about something. This is relevant when dealing with urban design and according to Professor in Urban theory Ole B. Jensen, the narrative element is central to any form of urban intervention.

*"Whether it be regional planning or urban design, a story is constructed to motivate and legitimate the intervention. Furthermore, the making of such a story is an act of re-presentation. No narrative re-presentation can be made without a more or less explicit set of guiding principles. Such principles may be strongly normative and related to notions of the good life, whereas other logics of representations might be more instrumental, such as cost estimates."* (Jensen, 2007A:216)

Jensen argues that city planning resembles storytelling (Jensen, 2007A: 216), where planners through design create stories and tell stories of a specific place. Hereby, Jensen argues that the connection between narrative and place is of great importance.

*"When the issue is planning and urban intervention, no plan is made without a narrative element. However, no plan is made without a spatial referent either. Therefore the importance of understanding the relationship between the narrative and its place-bound context is of great importance."* (Jensen, 2007: 217)

In this dissertation the sense of place is in focus; I have a sensitive approach to the material and in relation to that both the telling of stories and the creation of new urban stories through design are relevant.

**0.2.8 Validation in case studies**

In case studies the researcher's subjectivity influences the case being studied and often the researcher's own opinion comes forth. This means that validation is important. Robert K. Yin (2003) deals with four different tests to establish validity in the case study and these four tests can be used at different phases of the case study. The four tests are: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

Construct validity concerns establishing the right set of operational measures for the object being studied, so the data collected can undergo a subjective analysis. To be able to do so the researcher must cover the two steps: 1) "select the specific types of change that are to be studied" and 2) "demonstrate that the selected measures of these changes do indeed reflect the specific types of change that have been selected" (Yin 2003: 35). In order to increase construct validity Yin introduces three tactics that can be used: 1) using multiple sources of evidence; 2) establishing a chain of evidence and; 3) have a draft of the case study reviewed by key informants (Yin 1995: 36). In this dissertation the data used in the case study is collected on the basis of the theoretical investigations, which means that the starting point for collecting data is the phenomenon of urban transformation and the causes, meanings, characteristics etc.of the phenomenon. The data used to investigate these topics in the different cases may appear to be similar, at first sight, but it is difficult to establish whether the measures under e.g. statistics about house prizes are the same in Baltimore as in Denmark. This means that the data may differ in each case, as the two cases represent different countries and thus different planning traditions, history, political standpoints etc. Therefore, the cases are not directly comparable but each can tell a (good) story about urban transformation in different contexts. This is related to the qualitative case study where the goal is to achieve a greater understanding of the case and to "appreciate the uniqueness and complexity of its embeddedness and interaction with its contexts" (Stake 1995: 16).

The second test Yin deals with is internal validity, which is only of concern if the case study is attempting to determine whether event x led to event y. Here, it is important to be aware of whether the relationship between x and y is influenced by an unknown factor z (Yin, 1995:36). In this dissertation, the case study conducted is not as the one mentioned above and the issue of internal validity is therefore delimited.

External validity is the third of Yin's four tests to secure quality in the case study research. This test deals with the "problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate case study" (Yin 1995: 37) or, in other words, whether the results in one case can be applied to other similar cases. This external validity has been a major area of interest in case study research, because it is questioned whether single cases can offer basis for generalization. In relation to this I will refer to the statement of Flyvbjerg written in the previous chapter: that it is possible to make generalization from a case study. The cases of this dissertation are not to be seen as having the potential to lead from generalization to a broader theory. However, the two cases each illustrate specific examples of urban transformation and, thereby, contribute to telling a story of urban transformation. This can be related to Steiner Kvale (1997) who talks about how a shift from modern formalized knowledge systems to the narrative knowledge has happened. Skepticism towards global systems of thought happens where a generalized theory is required and instead truth is created locally in small narrative units, contributing to maintaining the values of the community (Kvale 1997: 53) (to learn more about the narrative method see also chapter 0.2.7).

Finally, Yin's last test is reliability which simply covers the fact that documentation is important. If a researcher repeats the exact same case study as another researcher has conducted already, he should arrive at the same findings and conclusions as the first researcher (Yin 1995). By doing so, it is possible to document the procedures followed in the earlier case, and the goal is thereby to minimize the errors and biases in a study (Yin 1995). Therefore, it is important to make as many steps as possible operational and to collect and keep all documents. A way of doing so is to create a case study protocol or a case study database. The case studies in this dissertation are qualitative and I here follow Robert E. Stake, when he defines a researcher as having the role of both interpreter and gatherer of interpretations (Stake 1995:99). "Most contemporary qualitative researchers nourish the belief that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered. The world we know is a particularly human construction". Thereby multiple perspectives or views of urban transformation exist and this is just one interpretation of many. It is therefore difficult to repeat the same case study from the same data. Thus, the data used in each case are collected and kept to make it possible to go back and look at the data.

### 0.2.9 Justification of Cases

The specific case study of this dissertation consists of two different, geographically defined cases. The two cases that will undergo a case study analysis are: the territory of Denmark and the territory of Baltimore in USA. It is not a comparative case study in the sense that the two cases are not directly compared with each other.

The cases were chosen with point of departure in the fact that the topic of this thesis was shrinking cities. This means that the cases were chosen from a shrinking cities optic, where the two cases represented two different kinds of shrinkage, respectively, Denmark regional shrinkage and Baltimore city or city enclave shrinkage. This was deliberately done in order to get as broad an introduction to what a shrinking area was; meaning showing the nuanced picture of urban shrinkage; and thereby saying that regional and city shrinkage are nuances of the same phenomenon. However, this mix of regional and city shrinkage might be for some different to understand, and that it is not possible to apply the theoretical consideration from shrinking cities to shrinking regions. But these two cases is chosen because both in the regional and in the city shrinkage the physical decline and the abandonment of the built structures are very evident and from an urban design perspective the task of handling the surplus buildings and structures in a region or a city is very similar.

My focus has, as mentioned, changed to the theoretical take-off: urban transformations. This changed research focus does partly derive from the analysis of the cases where I became aware of the fact that growth and decline is situated right next to each other and that no larger region or city is only shrinking. Therefore the cases are images of urban transformation and the dynamic interplay between growth and decline.

The two cases represent two very different geographical scales with Denmark being a nation state and Baltimore being a metropolitan area. The number of inhabitants in Baltimore and Denmark respectively is actually quite similar. In Denmark there are 5,489,022 inhabitants (Statistics Denmark, 2008) whereas there are 2,655,675 inhabitants in Baltimore Metropolitan Area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). The size of the area of the two cases is, however, quite different, where the Danish national state comprises an area of 16, 575, 4 square miles (Danmark 2008), and the Baltimore Metropolitan Area only covers an area of 3, 104, 5 square miles (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008).

Through the two cases it is possible to show the relational pattern of growth and decline on different scales. Such large scales are chosen in order to make it possible to zoom in and out in the cases, showing the situation of growth and decline in a broad variety of scales. In Baltimore, it becomes possible to look at the metropolitan level to city level and down to a neighborhood. In Denmark, it becomes possible to look at the phenomenon at state level, municipal level and finally, at the level of a small town. This can be related to the fact that scale is an important element to have in mind, when dealing with urban growth and urban decline.

But apart from the importance of being able to zoom in and out in the cases, the other reason for choosing a metropolitan area and a nation state is related to the fact that Denmark is quite small compared with other nation states and that the size of cities in Denmark is also small. There are only five Danish cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants and Copenhagen is the only city with more than a million inhabitants. Furthermore, since the Second World War the Danish Welfare State urbanism has strived to establish equal access to public institutions and welfare throughout the country, effacing the boundaries between city and countryside (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Because of its small overall size, the Danish territory can therefore be considered as one urbanised territory today (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

In order to understand the different cases, it is important to be familiar with the context of the cases. In this case we are dealing with two cases with different planning tradition, number of inhabitants, history, models of society, culture, size etc. The two cases are both situated in advanced capitalist democracies and represent two different kinds of planning tradition and political standpoints. By using cases placed in different planning traditions and political contexts it is possible to get a broader perspective on urban transformations. The planning systems differ from country to country and by having an idea of the political context and planning tradition, it may perhaps explain why urban territories transform the way they have done. Furthermore, in order to understand why urban transformation processes may be perceived differently and why the rectifying initiatives taken at the local level have turned out the way they have, it is essential to consider the contextual differences of the cases.

The way the difference in political context and the planning tradition is thought of is by having two cases that can represent different planning families. The term

planning families is taken from Newman and Thornley (1996) who state that "urban planning takes place within a particular national framework (1996: 27). They look at European planning and find within that five planning families of legal styles and administrative structures representing the countries (Newman and Thornley 1996: 27). The five planning families are: a Scandinavian, a British, a Germanic, a Napoleonic and an East European planning family and inside each family "a similarity in
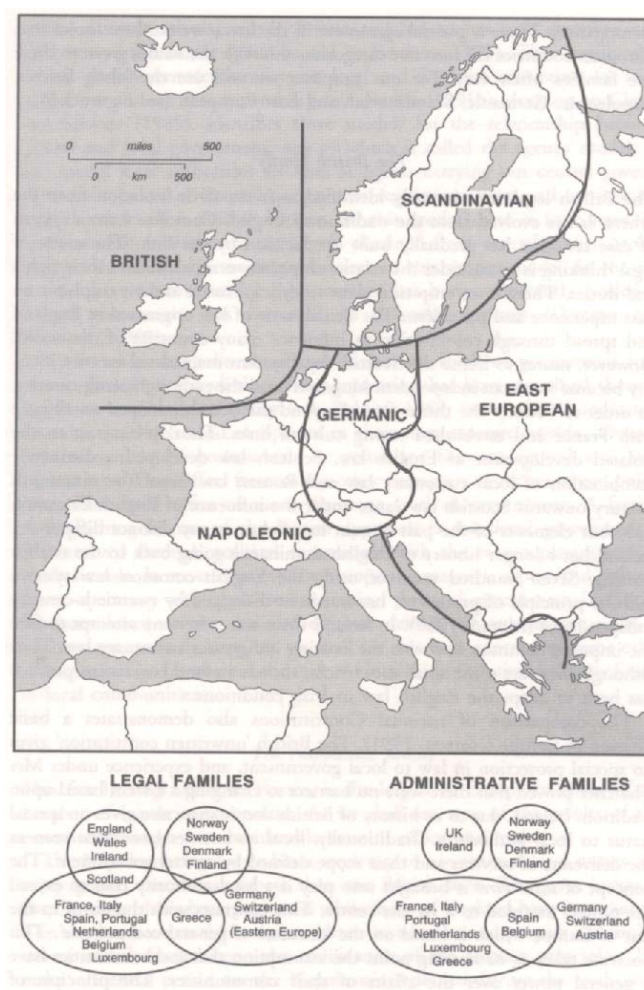


Fig. 19: Newman and Thornley's legal and administrative "families" of Europe (1996; 29)

the planning systems can be identified with further convergence a possibility (New-man and Thornley 1996: 6). If expanding the field beyond Europe a North American planning family could be introduced. This could be comprehensive in addition to this research where the two cases represent a European planning tradition, more precisely a Scandinavian planning tradition and an American planning tradition.

Another way to describe the two cases, is by using two of Gøsta Esping-Andersen's (1990) three welfare regimes typologies, which are the liberal and the social demo-cratic welfare regime (leaving the conservative welfare regime out). Gøsta Esp-ing-Andersen's welfare-regime typology is from 1990 and has since then become a highly influential typology, describing different welfare regimes, where he focuses on the different arrangements between state, market and households from a socio-logical perspective (Esping-Andersen 1990). Each type is organized around its own logic of organization, stratification and social integration and each has a different history and different developments (Esping-Andersen 1990) and thereby also dif-ferent planning tradition. The use of welfare typologies is chosen despite an aware-ness of an increasing neo-liberalization which may have weakened the term welfare in recent years.

The Danish case is situated in a social democratic welfare regime that pursues equality both spatially and socially, based on the principles of universalism house-holds where the goal is to minimize the market with the intent of maximizing equal-ity (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27; Albertsen and Diken 2004). The Danish planning tradition is characterized by the strong planning tradition where there is a close relation between state and municipality, and most of the planning is conducted by the local municipality. On the contrary, the American case is situated in a liberal wel-fare regime. In the liberal welfare regime the role of the state is minimized in favor of market solutions (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). This affects the planning system where the general assumption is that the city is planned with the idea of minimal regulation.

Finally, a reason for choosing these two specific cases is the fact that in both cases different kinds of initiatives have been conducted ,dealing with urban transforma-tion. In addition, different actors and agents are trying to deal with the transforma-

tion that the respective areas are undergoing. Different initiatives have been taken in the two cases, making it possible to look at a broad variety of initiatives and from there to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the different projects. Both cases seem to have some potential to develop, so there is a real possibility that a kind of development can take place in the cases.

**0.2.10 Data Gathering**
With the background in the tradition of description and understanding of the empirical world, important research methods in a case study are according to Flyvbjerg: observation (eventually participant observation), qualitative interviews, detailed descriptions and qualitative field notes (Flyvbjerg 1988: 5). This means that in this case study analysis different kinds of data will be gathered and used. These will mainly derive from the following:

**Documentation**
> Articles, historical documentation, statistical material (such as population, population density, economy, social relations, income, level of education, unemployment, age etc), literature, archival records, geographical maps, charts, planning documents, planning policies/strategies etc.

**Direct observations on site**
> Photos, map making, subjective narratives, subjective material, drifts around the area

These direct observations are significant in the diagnosis of the two cases, where they are the primary source in the diagnosis. They give a picture of a specific situation on a specific site. But in order to create the story of respectively Baltimore and Denmark these observations are entered into a critical dialog. I do not let the observations stand for themselves but look critical at the observed. This means that I supplement the observations with different data and statistical material. Further, these observations are discussed in the research conversations with among others Christopher Shea (EBDI Chief Real Estate Officer), Mary Washington (Parks & People) and Jens Bach (Chief of Planning, Thisted Municipality).

This specific way of working is inspired by David Harvey's case study of Baltimore in the book Space of Hope (2000). Here, Harvey paints a picture of Baltimore by combining his own experiences with statistical material and photos – combining the factual with the narrative.

Specifically the case studies are conducted through the analysis model I developed in part II. First of all this means that I use the four parameters from the analysis model, physical capital, orgware, economical capital and socio-cultural capital, when I make the on site observations. Here I specifically look at the physical settings: the decline, the architectonical representation etc, but I also try to track the social and human side of the site.

Second of all, the scalar view is incorporated in the observations where the cases will start at a national or regional level and then zoom into a very local spatial place, giving an insight in the different scales. The way the scalar reflection comes forward in the case studies is by making different sections through the urban fabric. These sections follow the infrastructure and can be considered a journey through a specific area. This way of mapping can be related to the way Richard Long operates when he is walking in circles, following a specific trace, or James Cornes drifting method where you just walk around in a specific area.

In the Danish case I operate with three sections through parts of Denmark. The first is a regional section following the highway E45 from Aalborg in the north to Kolding in the south. This section represents a regional growth perspective. The second section is also a regional section but represents both growth and decline and is going from Aalborg to Thisted. The last section in the Danish case is a more local section going through the municipality of Thisted from Agger Tange in the south to Hanstholm in the north. This last section is an overall declining area. In the Baltimore case I follow two sections representing two scales. The first one is at the regional scale where I follow a section going from Boston in the north to Baltimore in the south; showing the urban conglomerate of north east America. The second section is at the local scale which goes from the Baltimore Metropolitan area to the inner city. Then finally, specifically local areas are looked upon, which for both cases is areas of decline. In Denmark it is the village of Vestervig and for Baltimore it is the areas of Watershed 263 and specifically Harlem Park.

In addition to the analysis model, the case studies will also contain historical flashback of the planning in order to understand the form from where this contemporary situation derives.

**Interviews**

In this case study interviews do not play a significant role. That interviews have been given a lower priority can be related to the fact that I use an urban design approach, which looks at what there is on site and attributes this to subjective mapping, reflecting on what there is. But this approach does not exclude interviews, and my research  has involved spending  time in both places in order to  obtain opinions and thoughts from different persons about questions related to either the situation of the two cases or related to different interventions conducted in the two cases. These conversations or interviews have been recorded and/or extensive notes were taken (due to technical problems a couple of the interviews have not been recorded). The interviews have not been transcribed because they do not have the character of well structured and planned interviews. The interviews conducted by me were only loosely structured in order to let the interviewed person tell about his or her experiences related to the topic (Kvale 1997). Therefore, they could be considered  conversations about  subjects of mutual interest. These interviews have entered into the thesis as background material used to support the theoretical and empirical observations.

The conclusions and analysis of the gathered data will be qualitative. But the data will be a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence. This means that some of the statistical material can be quantitative, whereas the subjective opinions and conclusions made from these observations are qualitative.

# PART I - THEORETICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Part I goes under the title theoretical investigations and will analyze the contemporary processes of urban growth and decline, through different theoretical investigations. Taking its point of departure in the recently invented term shrinking cities this chapter will look at the emerging urban polarization into growing and shrinking territories.

Thus, the theme 'shrinking cities' is the first theme that will be touched upon. There will be an introduction to the term and an investigation into who deals with shrinking cities and how. In this part my aim is to look at the phenomenon of shrinkage and to define what a shrinking city is as well as to discuss the conception of shrinkage. I will look at what has to be included and excluded when looking at shrinkage, empirically. Finally, I will question whether the term shrinking cities is a comprehensive term to utilize.

Succeeding the exposition of shrinking cities the balance between growth and decline will be handled. This will first, shortly, be in a descriptive view looking at growth and decline in a historical perspective. Here, the point of departure will be the industrialization of the western world: USA and Europe. This historical perspective can be coined in the title: the move from countryside to city and the breakthrough of planning - covering the period of industrialization. Following this historical view the exposition enters into a more contemporary discussion looking at how urban growth and urban decline are allocated today. Tendencies are pointing towards an increasing spatial polarization - what could be causing this? Here I will look at two causes: globalization and neo-liberalization. The discussion will expand to include larger parts of the world, from only including USA and Europe, reflecting the increased globalization. I will look at how the development of globalization is affecting the urban development, the welfare state and the socio-spatial relations. Furthermore, I will look at how other scholars are handling and discussing this increased polarization.

In that way, I will look at two periods covering the industrialization and the present time. The issues handled in the two periods are the development of urban growth and decline. This periodization[10] is made in order to see the development of the urban growth and decline. This particular period is chosen because the development in this period consists of elements that are important to understand the present situation, and particularly in relation to urban shrinkage this period seems the most

relevant. It is probably possible to make another periodization, but in relation to the term of urban polarization the chosen western perspective and the division into the two periods seem comprehensive.



Fig. 20: Demolition of surplus buildings in Halle, Germany (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

## 1.1 SHRINKING CITIES

As mentioned in the beginning of the thesis, the term shrinking cities has been introduced in order to capture the negative urban development that some areas are experiencing. The research on shrinking cities draws attention to the challenges related to declining urban areas, while pointing at the fact that there is a need for strategies and design proposals that address the specific problems of urban shrinkage.

The following will be a theoretical study of the term shrinking cities. Here I will first introduce the origin of the term in order to understand the content in which the term was originally placed. This is followed by the exposition of three research and design projects working with shrinking cities. I intend to give an insight into which issues are being discussed in relation to shrinking cities research and shrinking cities design projects. The main sources for the conceptualization of shrinking cities conducted in this thesis is the German Shrinking Cities Project; meaning that it is mainly from there I have the different definitions about shrinking cities and it is from there I mainly find the critique points. Following this I will look at how shrinking cities are understood in relation to the work on urbanism conducted by Louis Wirth and Max Weber, in order to see if 'shrinking cities' is a new kind of urbanity. This will all lead to a discussion of the term, where I will set up a number of issues that I find either missing or not described thoroughly enough.

### 1.1.0 Shrinking Cities Origin

The term shrinking cities originates in Germany, coming from the German term schrumpfende Städte. Thus, it might be possible to talk about shrinking cities as being a German discourse. This German discourse covers the linguistic development of the term but also the idea of gathering different kinds of urban decline into one united term. This discourse derives from a German context and history and is much focusing on the demographical decline.

Shrinking cities refer to cities with a declining demography and/or a declining economy due to a range of causes. This creates a surplus of built structures which makes the city become more fragmented and fall into ruins.

One of the first pieces dealing with city shrinkage in a German context and one of the first contributions to a debate on the subject can to be found in the book *Neue Urbanität* from 1987 by Hartmut Häußermann and Walter Siebel. In this book they elaborate on the declining cities discussing the relation between growing, stagnating and shrinking cities.

The debate about shrinking cities is then taken further in their paper *Die schrump-fende Stadt und die Stadtsoziologie* from 1988. In this paper Häußermann and Siebel deal with the structural changes of the 70s and 80s de-industrialization processes and the shrinkage of industrial cities (Häußermann and Siebel 1988).Here, Häußermann and Siebel talk about that a new object - shrinking cities- has entered the city-sociology. And even though the shrinking city does not look that different from a growing city, a shrinking city will develop a certain economic, social and cultural profile (Häußermann and Siebel 1988: 84).

This new object is seen in the negative urban development that especially industrial sites in West Germany have experienced since the 1970s, with loss of workplaces and population as a consequence (Häußermann and Siebel 1988; 79-80). Häußermann and Siebel operate with two main causes for this development; one cause is suburbanization which means that inner-city areas decline at the expense of growing areas in the periphery, whereas other areas experience decline due to erosion of their industrial basis, which gives a less propitious developmental perspective (Häußermann and Siebel 1988: 80). They thus talk about a polarization of the city-development (Häußermann and Siebel 1988: 83).

In recent years, the German Shrinking Cities project has taken the notion of Schrumpfende Städte and translated it into the English term shrinking cities and in that process expanded the debate into a broad context entering the international urban planning scene. Thereby, the topic of shrinkage has attained renewed focus and awareness, highlighting the need to understand and plan for urban shrinkage.

### 1.1.1 Three Research and Design Projects dealing with shrinkage
In the following, I will introduce three contemporary shrinking cities projects, which are: the Shrinking Cities project, the Shrinking Cities Group and the IBA Stadtumbau 2010. The three projects give an insight into the scene of urban shrinkage. There are, however, several more projects undertaken, especially in a German context, that could have been mentioned but which I have chosen to leave out.

### The Shrinking Cities Project
One of the most extensive investigations of shrinking cities is done by an international study group called Shrinking Cities. The German Shrinking Cities project was initiated by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation) and was carried out from 2003-2005 under the curatorship of Philip Oswalt, Berlin

in co-operation with the Leipzig Gallery of Contemporary Art, the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation and the magazine Archplus. This research and design project looks at shrink as a cultural challenge, and through investigation of four sites the goal is to come with suggestions:

*"The objective of the shrinking cities project is to identify new modes of action capable of shaping and qualifying the urban transformation resulting from shrink."* (Shrinking Cities, 2004-2008)

Interestingly the project was financed by the "Kulturstiftung des Bundes" (the German federal cultural foundation) and thus conceived as a cultural project resulting into two exhibitions in 2005 and 2006, the first showing the empirical results of the project and the second concentrating upon possible interventions. To understand a regional economic and geographical theme as a cultural project is strange in my opinion, and when looking at the project the work conducted does not deal as much



Fig. 21: The five abandoned high rise buildings in Halle Neustadt are subject for investigations in the analysis of the German city Halle, conducted by the Shrinking City Project (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

with culture as it does with physical planning. However, the cultural project might be related to the fact that the project wants a cultural focus in addition to saying that culture and cultural projects might be useful in shrinking cities; this is visible in the fact that the Shrinking Cities project tries to break up some of the different horizons by combining physical structures and cultural and social aspects in the work with urban shrinkage and by saying that factors like architecture and culture can contribute to a different reuse and redevelopment of shrinking territories.

The starting point for the project was the huge changes taking place in the former East Germany after the reunification of Germany. East Germany suffered and still suffers from massive economic and demographic decline resulting in huge spatial transformations. The term shrinking cities was used to describe the situation in East Germany – the former country was literally shrinking. A goal was therefore to seek alternative planning perspectives for east German cities and to expand Germany's city-planning debate by discussing other perspectives in addition to shrinking cities than just demolishing the superfluous buildings (Shrinking Cities 2004-2008).

From this East German starting point the project extended the discussion into an international arena and turned the German term schrumpfende Städte into a global theme. The project evoked images of deserted industrial sites, empty and decaying large scale housing, and run down public spaces of demographically declining cities through an overall global analysis of shrinkage in the four cases Halle-Leipzig ((east) Germany), Manchester-Liverpool (Great Britain), Detroit (USA) and Ivanavo (Russia). The idea of taking cases in different parts of the world aimed at broadening the debate from East Germany to an international context and thereby bringing the discussion to a more general level, claiming that what takes place in East Germany also takes place in other parts of the world. Thus the project Shrinking Cities set out to investigate and document urban shrinkage as a global phenomenon (Shrinking Cities 2004-2008).

**Analysis**
The first phase of the project consisted thus of an investigation of the problem on a global level and of an investigation of the four sites. This work is presented in the book Shrinking Cities Volume I (Oswalt (ed) 2004) and Atlas of Shrinking Cities (Oswalt (ed) 2006), among others places.

The overall analysis was conducted with different statistical material with the goal of mapping shrinking cities in the world. In each case a local interdisciplinary team (urban geographers, cultural experts, architects, journalists, and artists) was appointed that had been commissioned to study and document the urban shrinking processes of each case, covering a period of one year. The analysis of the cases was to bring about an insight into the processes of shrinkage and to map the causes, processes and effects of economical and demographical decline in the four sites. Each case was ascribed to represent a specific form of shrinkage, with Detroit representing shrinkage due to suburbanization, Manchester/Liverpool representing shrinkage due to deindustrialization, Ivanavo representing shrinkage due to post-socialism and finally, Halle/Leipzig represented several of the causes compounded. In addition to the case studies different scholars and laymen wrote various papers about urban shrinkage and other related themes. Combined with the overall global analysis the goal was to get as broad a view on shrinking cities as possible.

**Intervention**
The second phase of the project was the intervention phase. Here new innovative strategies and designs were developed for the four sites, in particular Halle, where different designs and practices were developed and discussed. This work is presented in the book Shrinking Cities Volume II (Oswalt (ed) 2005) and in the May 2005 edition of the architectural magazine Archplus under the title: Shrinking Cities Reinventing Urbanism, among other places.

This phase consisted of two tracks. The first track was donating grants from the two project partners, the Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau and the Galerie für zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig.  These grants made it possible to deal culturally with shrinking cities, and the different projects ranged from artistic performances to self-empowerment projects, from landscape interventions to planning and economic action concepts (Shrinking Cities 2004-2008). The other track was an international competition held by the co-originator of the architectural magazine Archplus, called "Schrumpfende Städte – Die Stadt neu denken" in January 2004. The purpose was to develop new principles for action, and the goal was to generate new ways of thinking in relation to city, space, function, culture etc. preferably with an interdisciplinary approach.

The incoming design proposals in the competition can be seen as eye openers and they emphasize different topics of importance, when working with shrinking cities in the future. Many of the proposals are action based and revolve around subjects such

as strategy, co-operation and dialogue. Generally there is a focus on local resources; it could be hip hop music in Detroit, bee-lines in Manchester, the big empty areas etc. and from these resources a strategy is developed for the specific area. Many of the proposals suggest new uses for the abandoned structures, with some taking an urban agricultural approach, transforming empty housing areas into mushroom-factories, bird sanctuaries or ecological production plants. This approach gives hands-on directions as to what appears to have the capacity to improve the situation for the remaining people both in relation to a new and different use of the existing resources, and in relation to the potential to create new workplaces. Temporary habitation is another concept from the design proposals. Some of the projects have

Fig. 22, 23 and 24: Different instalations from the two Shrinking Cities exhibitions in Berlin and Leipzig (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

developed different types of mobile homes, which can be placed according to need, while other projects transform old structures by giving them temporary purposes. Apart from that, there are more controversial proposals such as the development of a Chinese state in an area in eastern Germany, where you "import" people from China to live in Mini-China with Chinese law, rules, wages etc.

Generally, the design proposals point in many different directions, and unfortunately many of the proposals do not seem noticeably moved by the real core of the problem of shrinking cities. As intended in the competition, the focus is on the cultural and social relations, and thereby the projects are endowed with a kind of superficiality, due to the lack of economical, political and demographical perspectives. It could have been constructive to see design proposals on ways to combine cultural and social relations on the one hand with political and economical relations on the other one.

**The Shrinking Cities Group**
Another group working with shrinking cities is the Shrinking Cities Group. This is an interdisciplinary group of researchers and policymakers from the five continents North America, South America, Europe, Asia and Australia based at University of California's Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD), Berkeley.
Where the Shrinking Cities Project had a more cultural approach, this group has a more theoretical approach and it is working with Shrinking Cities "in a global perspective, setting the context for in-depth case studies in selected cities and considering specific social, economic, environmental, cultural and land-use issues" (www-iurd.ced.berkeley.edu/scg/index.htm). The goal is to redefine regional governance both in the US and beyond and the group has four objectives, which are: 1) to develop a  strategic framework for discussion of the shrinking cities phenomenon based on key research questions; 2) to establish a network of experts (research and practice) for the exchange of information and feedback on the shrinking cities phenomenon; 3) to find and evaluate (through a series of case studies) successful patterns of revitalization or strategic models that can be generalized and applied to other regions and finally; 4) to communicate findings to policy-makers around the world (www-iurd.ced.berkeley.edu/scg/index.htm).

Apart from these four well formulated objectives the group has seven research questions which form the basis for their case study research (The Shrinking Cities Group 2005-2008). The seven research questions are as follows: 1.  What are the different

effects of city shrinkage on demographics, economics, social life and urban form? 2. Which urban and regional policies, programs and strategies have been successful in addressing the problem of shrinking cities? 3.  What are the respective roles of public and private initiatives? How can they be coordinated? Who are the key players in the redevelopment process of shrinking cities? 4.  What are the key factors linking globalization and city shrinkage? Can successful approaches be generalized or are they locally/regionally specific? 5.  Which assumptions, concepts, values and practices of planning and development need revision in view of the shrinking cities phenomena? Is there a need for a new vision and a shift in paradigm for urban and regional planning and growth? 6.  What are the policy implications of shrinking cities for urban and regional development? What are the respective roles of local, regional and national policies and programmes? 7.  Globalization and sustainable communities, sustainable growth and possibilities of early warning systems? (The Shrinking Cities Group 2005-2008).

Furthermore, each case will be looked at through a specific lens in order to understand the role that different approaches, policies and strategies have in the re-generation of shrinking cities. The lenses are: innovation, environmental sustainability, culture and creative industries, information and communication technologies, land use and the interdependence of shrinking and growing, transport and industry infrastructure, community involvement, shrinking suburbs and core cities in large metropolitan regions, post-socialist cities- all these are to contribute to a broad and well documented analysis of the cases (The Shrinking Cities Group 2005-2008).

**IBA Stadtumbau 2010**
The last shrinking cities project presented here is the IBA Stadtumbau 2010[11]. The IBA Stadtumbau 2010 can be seen as a laboratory where different city redevelopment tools are tested and applied by the year 2010, in the region of Saxony-Anhalt (IBA Stadtumbau 2008). The project IBA Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010 is making urban redevelopment into an experiment. Cities are finding new profiles, trying out new methods and exploiting new opportunities (IBA-Büro 2006). In this project the opinion is that the city needs restructuring in order to cope with the economical, social, cultural and demographic changes caused by shrinkage. In this process it is not enough to remove superfluous housing from the market and demolish odd buildings. The cities need to redefine themselves in order to find the components to their future profile, functions and identity. The project concerns new perspectives for cities undergoing radical change:

*"The objective of the International Building Exhibition (IBA) Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010 is to build up practical urban redevelopment expertise at the state and local level, and to devise pilot schemes that will set standards for international urban research and design under the conditions of demographic, economic and social change."* (IBA Stadtumbau 2008)

19 cities are participating in this project, each having a specific theme attached, and all of them addressing problems and issues of relevance for them. The different themes of the cities can all be categorized into four main spheres of action: architectural-spatial measures, socio-cultural issues, infrastructure and economy. From the perspective that one city can not do everything, each city has a concept that can be placed under one of the four categories. This is done on behalf of an individual profile drawn up with their original economic, social and cultural potentials (IBA Stadtumbau 2008). This profile serves as a basis for future work. This means that



Fig. 25: One of the cities in IBA  Stadtumbau 2010 is the city of Halle (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

the IBA project addresses the extent of shrinkage by working with many different themes and perspectives simultaneously, and the project is pointing at some of the right things when defining four aspects that are interesting and important in the work with shrinkage. Unfortunately, they say "one city, one theme" and do not incorporate all themes into all cities, working across the four spheres of action.

### 1.1.2 Causes for urban shrinkage

Cities have always been either growing or declining. Wars, epidemics and natural-disasters have previously resulted in the decline or at worst, the death of cities. Today wars and natural-disasters are still causes for cities to shrink - just look at recent events like the hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and the war in Iraq, where cities have lost huge numbers of inhabitants, from one day to another. But in the last decades several causes have emerged, resulting in the shrinkage of cities. Apart from wars, epidemics and natural-disasters the German shrinking cities project defines four causes that can be described as the main reasons for post world War II urban shrinkage; these are: de-industrialization, change of urban structures (de-centralization and sub-urbanization), demographic changes (birthrates etc.) and political changes (post-socialism) (Oswalt (ed) 2006).

Furthermore, the above shows that the term urban shrinkage is, thus, a long lasting process which has been under way for quite some time; it is not just a phenomenon appearing in the last 10 years, even though there is a renewed focus on the phenomenon, in recent years. This indicates that the shrinking of areas is not a completely unexpected or unpredictable incident. This phenomenon has been seen at least in the last four decades in North America and the western part of Europe, where it was mainly caused by de-industrialization, in the beginning (Christine Hannemann 2003). But since 1990 (with the fall of the Berlin Wall) there has also been a rise in the occurrence of shrinkage in the former communist countries in Eastern Europe, where cities in Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan are affected. While the problem is also visible in countries like Japan and South Africa, the number of causes for the shrinkage of territories has increased (Shrinking Cities 2004-2008).

### De-industrialization

One common denominator is that globalization has a significant impact on the development of shrinking cities; many of the causes for shrink are side-effects of the increasing globalization and neo-liberalization and the transition from the industrialized society to the information and knowledge-based society.

Fig. 26: Deindustrialization in Detroit (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

For some cities, the globalization process has resulted in the loss of employment opportunities due to the post-industrial shift from manufacturing to service industries and the move of industries to areas where the cost of labor is significantly lower, which has resulted in a further relocation of the population. Former industrialized cities are marked by a decreasing industry that results in a migration of the population.

**Change of Urban Structures**
Another factor which explains the decline of some areas is the change in urban structures, which means the increased centralization into huge urban agglomeration combined with an increased suburbanization. An increased centralization of the urban is taking place, creating huge mega-poles that are draining essential investment and resources from other urban areas, leaving the remaining cities with an ever-diminishing fiscal base (The Shrinking Cities Group 2005-2008). Further-

more, the increased sub-urbanization processes constitute another changed urban structure in which the center of the city is abandoned in exchange for a life in the suburbs. Sub-urbanization does not imply a complete loss of inhabitants but more a move away from the city-centre to the urban periphery. This means that shrink is embedded in a larger process of growth. This kind of urbanization can be characterized as a doughnut, with the empty city centre surrounded by growing urban sprawl.

**Political Changes**

The change in the former socialist countries to post-socialism which, for instance, took place in the former USSR and in Eastern Germany is another cause for shrink. Here, both the market and the political system changed overnight, with major economical problems and a decline in the population as a consequence. The changes have resulted in the closure of Government owned companies and public institutions, causing high unemployment and reduction in service with further migration from the East to the West, as a consequence.

**Demographical Changes**

A final cause is the decline in birth rates, where the western countries are experiencing a stable birth rate or one slightly below the mortality rate. As an example, Europe does not contribute to the increase of the world's population; the exodus of young people seeking opportunities elsewhere, both because the cities they live in are declining and there are no jobs for them, but also in the search for education and jobs in general, is contributing to the shrinkage of cities. Finally, the population in the western part of the world is ageing, due to the low birth rates, and the average age is high, especially in the shrinking cities.

**1.1.3 Shrinkage and Urbanism**

The advocates of shrinking cities consider urban shrinkage to be different from other kinds of urbanity. As a final step towards an understanding of shrinking cities I will try to examine how the term corresponds with the thoughts of Louis Wirth and Max Weber.

**Different types of City**

In the essay *Urbanism as a Way of Life*[12] from 1938 Louis Wirth, leading figure in the Chicago School of Sociology, tries to define urbanism. Louis Wirth's observations take their point of departure in the post-World War I American city. One of Wirth's

key observations is that urbanism in general has common features but there are variations and that these variations between the different types of urbanism are very important.

*"A serviceable definition of urbanism should not only denote the essential characteristics which all cities – at least in our culture – have in common, but should lend itself to discovery of their variations".* (Wirth 1997: 295)

Of different variations of urbanism Wirth talks, among others, about the industrial cities, the commercial cities, the university cities and the capital cities. These different types of city all present different sets of social characteristics that make them all urban, while showing the different variations (Wirth 1997).

*"A one-industry city will present different sets of social characteristics from a multi-industry city, as will an industrially balanced from an imbalanced, a suburb from a satellite, a residential suburb from an industrial suburb, a city within a metropolitan region from one lying outside, an old city from a new one, a southern city from a New England, a middle-western from a Pacific Coast city, a growing from a stable and from a dying one".* (Wirth 1997: 295)

In the quotation Louis Wirth mentions how there are differences between growing and shrinking cities but that they are just two variations of urbanism. They are so to speak both representatives of urbanism just with different characteristics. When using Wirth's broad conception urbanism goes beyond these differences, where he states that a sociological definition of urbanism must be "inclusive enough to comprise whatever essential characteristics these different types of cities have in common as social entities, but it, obviously, cannot be so detailed as to take account of all the variations" (Wirth 1997: 295). It is therefore, possible to talk about shrinking cities as a variation of urbanism but as still being urban and not something completely new or different from other urban types. This can be related to the idea of cities exposed by Häussermann and Siebel when they claim that in contemporary urbanity there are much greater differences between cities and the word seems reduced to cover many different realities (Häussermann and Siebel 1987). This means that there many different types of urbanism and e.g. shrinking cities can be understood as one kind of urbanism in a broader sense.

**Size, Density, Heterogeneity**

As a way of narrowing down the concept of urbanism Wirth operates with three subjects that can define urbanism: size, density and heterogeneity (or diversity of population). For Wirth the size of the urban configuration does matter, to some extent, (although not as an isolated factor). Wirth finds that the mode of modern living is concentrated" into gigantic aggregations around which cluster lesser centers and from which radiate the ideas and practice that we call civilization" (Wirth 1997: 292), suggesting that civilization is created in cities.

According to Wirth, the bigger a city gets the higher range of individual variation and the greater potential differentiation (Wirth 1997).This means that the larger the number of people, the more likely the expectation of a greater cultural variation. Wirth is, however, aware that a downside of this variation could result in segregation of race, social and economical status etc.

According to Wirth, diversity is the second issue that is important in order to define urbanism. Diversity is created through urban concentration - in other words, density creates diversity, as the dense city gives a multiple social and cultural life. If density is a measure of whether a city is a city then shrinking territories might not be considered a city, because a shrinking city looses density.

Finally, heterogeneity is important to Wirth. In the city it is possible to be stimulated by a great number of subjects and individuals with different culture and social status – the city is heterogeneous. On the basis of the three variables, number, density of settlement, and degree of heterogeneity of the urban population, it appears possible to explain the characteristics of urban life and to account for the differences between cities of various sizes and types. (Wirth 1997:303)

Also Jane Jacobs, in the book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, is an advocate for diversity (Jacobs 1961) - "diversity is natural to big cities" (Jacobs 1961: 143). When planning our cities we have to plan for diversity and by diversity Jacobs means a mixture of uses. Jacobs thereby criticizes the modernist planning ideals with their top down utopian ideas as she advises planning at eye level, looking at the existing environment before changing and planning it. Jacobs concentrates on greater cities and inner city areas and she is aware that her observations in greater cities can not be applied to smaller cities or suburban areas. Thereby she also states

that diversity might be a big-city inner areas feature. This is related to the fact that in big cities there are enough people to support diversity: "The diversity, of whatever kind, that is generated by cities rests on the fact that in cities so many people are so close together, and among them contain so many different tastes, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets"(Jacobs 1961: 147)

The fact that diversity is mainly a big city feature also seems to be the way to understand Wirth's opinions and that Wirth deals with the bigger cities. Thereby, when defining a city it could be considered "a bounded space that is densely settled and has a relatively large, culturally heterogeneous population" (Gottdiener and Budd 2005: 4)

In the definition of city according to these three parameters, shrinking cities are separate from what Wirth calls urban. Thereby, shrinking territories are giving another perspective, concerning these issues. Due to the migration of people in shrinking cities there is a decline in density, diversity and heterogeneity. If, for instance, we are going to believe Wirth's definition then the size of a city does matter and this does not fit with the fact that in shrinking cities the size of the city is decreasing, physically and also regarding the population. So either a shrinking city is "less" city or size does not have that much impact.

**The Urban Community**
Max Weber does not find size to be the overall characteristic of urbanism. Weber does not find it sufficient to look at locality and dense settlement when defining the city. It is part of the definition but not the whole. If it was a demand that the inhabitants did not all know each other, it would only be the very large cities that could call themselves cities (Weber 1966). The density and size of the city could only serve as a fragment of a theory of urbanism (Weber 1966: 50). Instead the city could be seen as a complex structure/system of different relations which exists because people act in it (Weber 1966: 51). It is not only the geographical side that constitutes the city but also the people and the events taking place in the city.

Weber develops his theory of the city by going through the different types of existing city-concepts. He investigates the economic concept, the relation of the city to agriculture, the political-administrative concept of the city, the fortress and garrison concept of the city, the concept of the city as fusion of fortress and market, the social and status concept of the city, the city as a sworn confederacy, the city as a body

of militarily competent citizens (Weber 1966: 53).By going through these different concepts he concludes that each contributes to the theory of the city but that none of the concepts can individually be a theory of the city. They are all necessary but not sufficient conditions of the city (Weber 1966: 53).

One of Weber's key concepts is the "urban community" which can be understood as a total unit distinguished not by a single institution but by an order of institutions (Weber 1966: 54). In this concept Weber found a theoretical formulation in which it was possible to incorporate the many partial concepts of the city (Weber 1966:54) and it represents a total system of life forces brought into some kind of equilibrium (Weber 1966: 55). Weber argues that an urban community is self-maintaining and restores its order, if disturbed. If the unit defined as the city/community changes, it will overcome these changes and revert to what it used to be .If this is true, the fate of shrinking territories is only a temporary state of mind. But if it means that cities change and that they will adapt to these changes, the fate of shrinking cities is permanent but also a fate that a city will adapt to and overcome. So even though a declining city is becoming smaller physically - density getting lower and the city becoming eroded from within – it is still urban. And low density is for some a quality. Look at the modernist architecture which very much was based on low density or the single-family suburbia.

### 1.1.4 Discussing Elements of Shrinkage

In the above I have described the term shrinking cities as it is presented today by different scholars and architects. But during this investigation, a number of issues regarding the term and the conception of the term which are very relevant to discuss have emerged. In the following I will present these subjects which are: a more careful description of the term, a division of shrinkage into four, the gathering of four causes into one term, and the geographical definition of the term.

### Description of Shrinking Cities

As seen in the chapter on urbanism, shrinking territories can be considered a variation of urbanism that is part of an overall and general transformation of the traditional city-model. Thus, it is not a distinct city-model, but a variation with some similarities and differences in relation to other city-variations. But what IS then the description of shrinking cities?

One of the issues that seems to be missing in the debate about shrinking cities is a more exact definition of urban shrinkage, e.g. the Shrinking Cities project only focuses on the causes and does in my opinion not give an exact definition of a shrinking city . My opinion is that the term shrinking cities can be regarded as an umbrella term, which captures many different themes under one hat, and therefore a more precise conceptual frame seems to be lacking. If we consider the Shrinking Cities project, for instance, it defines shrink very broadly as demographical and eco-nomical decline without further definition. There is a particular focus on the demo-graphical decline. This extensive focus on the demographic decline in the Shrinking Cities Project might be connected to the fact that this is the easiest to measure. But by only using demographical data as the statistical material cities are included which are not shrinking, in my opinion. E.g. a city like Copenhagen is included as a shrinking city in the Shrinking Cities Project because of its declining population. But, among other things, Copenhagen has a growing economy where the gross domestic product (GDP) has increased from 206 GDP/inhabitant in 1993 to 324 GDP/inhabit-ant in 2004 (Statistics Denmark 2008) and there are no immediate signs of decline in the physical, social or cultural structures. On the contrary, the city is building new buildings and renovating old ones. The declining population has therefore nothing to do with shrinkage, but is caused by the fact that Copenhagen, as the capital of Denmark, is more a city of institutions, shopping and workplaces than it is a resi-dential city.

To consider shrinking cities as just economical and demographical decline seems to be a too general assumption, because many other aspects seem to be at play when an area is declining. Taking this to the discussion of the term shrinking cities I will here argue that this term is a simplification. A simplification can both be positive and negative: it can make a complex phenomenon like shrinking cities understand-able, while running the risk of being so simple that it does not reflect real life. Ac-cording to James C. Scott (1998) the advantages of using simplifications is that "it brings into sharp focus certain limited aspects of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality" (Scott 1998: 7) but that the risk with simplifications are that "they do not successfully represent the actual activity of the society they depicted" (Scott 1998:3).

**Shrinking Cities and Urban Decline**
In the search for a definition of shrinking cities it might be relevant to look at the related term, urban decline. Shrinking cities and urban decline cover some of the

same problems and conceptions, namely cities in decline. What distinguishes the one from the other is the number of causes. Where urban decline is mostly about decline due to de-industrialization, the term shrinking cities covers multiple causes with de-industrialization being only one of them. Whereas the term shrinking cities is mainly a German term, the term urban decline is used in English speaking countries, in particular in the USA. Here it is used to describe the post-war fate of American industrial cities, where many cities declined due to the processes of de-industrialization. A lot of literature exists on the subject of urban decline and the postwar development of cities. One book that I find helpful in the search of a definition on shrinking cities is the book "Voices of Decline – the Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities" by Robert A. Beauregard (1993), because in this book Beauregard attempts to define urban decline. Among other things, he says, that if it was possible:  "A blunt approach would define precisely and narrowly what we mean by cities, urban and decline. The result would be a single and clear definition, but one that strips away the multitude of elusive meanings that are essential to our understanding of urban decline". (Beauregard 1993: 35)

Fig. 27: Demalition of surplus buildings in Detriot (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

Thus, according to Beauregard the above is not possible to attain because: "Urban decline is best understood as a dynamic matrix of meanings, an elusive rhetorical structure that entraps all sorts of notions related to the fate of cities and, more broadly, of the nation." (Beauregard 1993: 36)

Being a matrix of meanings also seems to capture the structure of shrinking cities. Beauregard, therefore, continues to look at urban decline as a loss. He says that "one of the more conventional ways to recognize urban decline is as a loss" (Beauregard 1993: 36) - loss of people, loss of cultural and social capital, loss of use-value of the built structures and, finally, loss of economic activity. And this loss creates a number of negative developments. According to Beauregard we then have to ascribe the dynamic and changeable to this loss definition to get a more precise definition (Beauregard 1993). Here Beauregard is talking specifically about incorporating the time aspect – meaning that urban decline is something that happens over time.

Returning to shrinking cities, the loss of things is also a good way to understand shrinking cities. Thereby, a way of describing urban shrinkage could be with the quote from Robert Kaltenbrunner in which he sees shrinkage as a down-going spiral:

*"structural economic weakness and a lack of jobs and job training opportunities; the departure of the young and the skilled; empty housing; rising poverty; a high percentage of old people; dwindling tax revenue to pay for the increasing costs of social security; a poor image and a reluctance to invest, all of which combine to reinforce the existing structural economic weakness – generates an overall downward spiral encompassing every aspect of urban life in the form of structural shrinkage".* (Robert Kaltenbrunner in IBA-Büro 2006: 38)

**Four Different Kinds of Shrinkage**
Thus, it is difficult to say which event or process ignites this down-going spiral, but even so several kinds of shrinkage seem to be at play when a city is shrinking. Thereby, I think we have to distance ourselves from using a simple model of causation regarding shrinking cities. I have tried to incorporate this by dividing shrinkage into four different areas: demographical shrinkage, economic shrinkage, socio-cultural shrinkage and physical shrinkage. In that way, it is possible to get an insight into the different parts and how they influence each other.

In the individual case the four layers of shrinkage can either all be represented or just some of the types can be significant. This means that inside the phenomenon of urban shrinkage there are differences due to the degree of representation of the four aspects in a shrinking city.

**Socio-cultural Shrinkage**
This subject can be considered as the 'lived everyday life' and represents the human side of the problem where social and cultural factors play a considerable role. It is important to look at the effect of shrinkage on the social structures in order to ascertain the impact of shrinkages on the population.

On a social level, the high unemployment and the futile life of the people left behind tell the story of an area without future prospects. The social and cultural infrastructures have "run out" and everything from theatres, schools, kindergartens etc. are affected and slowly decaying. There are fewer inhabitants to use these infrastructures e.g. fewer children to use kindergartens and schools but also fewer inhabitants to use for example the sewer system, while costs remain the same. Therefore, the costs increase and/or the level of service gets lower. The health care system is weakened.  The cultural and social institutions are struggling to survive and subsequently shut down.  There is neither financial nor creative surplus to start creative processes, and the spirit of the territory becomes more and more negative. In these areas the education system is weak, the schools are having difficulties recruiting well-educated teachers and maintaining a certain level and finally, the opportunity to get a higher education in shrinking territories is low. All these things create deterioration in the living conditions for those who still live in shrinking territories and consequently, this becomes a community without many resources and strengths to address the problems.

**Physical Shrinkage**
The subject physical shrinkage represents the physical structures of the territories where social and cultural inventions take place in the material space. The subject that perhaps most clearly indicates a shrinking territory is the physical shrinkage, in which completely empty streets, abandoned and torn down houses and structures tell the story of a decaying area. Here the technical infrastructures are "run down": roads, buildings, sewer systems etc are slowly decaying. Buildings fall into disrepair and there is a huge surplus of built structures, while modernization and renewal of the buildings have come to a halt. A shrinking physical territory is a territory with

large empty pockets and very low density, which questions our conception of the urban as a high-density area.

Often the unused buildings are demolished and demolition of houses is more frequent than the building of new ones, where the"Unbuilding has surpassed building as the city's major architectural activity" (Waldheim et al 2001: 101). This demolition of buildings creates desert-like spaces in the middle of the city (Wolfgang Kil in Karssenberg, 2007)

The urban spatial configuration is transformed when the shrinking territories dissolve into a new kind of indescribable urbanism where the city in many ways has disappeared (Waldheim et al, 2001). This indicates a need for working with the physical structures and seeing the possibilities in a transformation of the existing structures. The surplus of buildings, infrastructure and space set up new challenges for how to manage this surplus, and design wise we have to consider aesthetic, procedural and morphological issues in a transformation like the issue of preservation versus demolition. The property and land values drop towards zero and "value capturing or value oriented planning are not viable options in shrinking cities" (Wolfgang Kil in Karssenberg, 2007)

**Economic Shrinkage**
The economical shrinkage is another overall indicator for shrinkage where the declining economic situation is evident in the falling house prices and the loss of employment opportunities. The local market and its ability to create new investments are strongly influential on urban development, and the market is reluctant to invest in these shrinking territories. Furthermore, closed down businesses create empty locks in the urban fabric as well as utility and functional loss. Due to a declining tax base and increasing expenses caused by high unemployment and decreasing population, the social, cultural and physical structures deteriorate. The municipality does not have the means to change the situation and the area is trapped because of lower tax bases. The municipal expenses to e.g. schools do not get proportionally smaller when the school looses half of their pupils, because the maintenance and the heating of the school still cost the same. What is happening economically is not always a definite economical shrinkage, but rather structural economical changes which create uneven economical conditions.

**Demographical shrinkage**
Finally, the demographical shrinkage is the overall indicator of a city that shrinks.

Due to different causes like high unemployment, the increased processes of urbanization, de-industrialization, economic decline, but also general demographical transformations like lower birth rates and changes in population composition, people are moving away from certain areas leaving behind a shrinking territory. It is often the best educated and young people that emigrate and the ones staying in the shrinking territories are often people who due to reasons such as age, social status, education (or lack of), work situation and origin are part of a socially marginalized group.

**Many different Causes in the One Term**
Furthermore, this investigation of shrinking cities makes it clear that the term shrinking cities covers many different areas of decline due to a range of causes from suburbanization to political changes like post-socialism.

You can not disagree that the four causes can be closely related to shrinkage, but they are very general and "large" terms. All these causes are independent terms in themselves, de-industrialization is a term, suburbanization is a term etc, and the question arises whether it is at all possible to link these terms together, considering the extensive literature written in their respective fields. It can be a solution to gather different terms into one term, but this requires that you act with discrimination and reflection. In the case of shrinking cities the term shrinking cities seems to be a "black box" and in order to understand it deconstruction is required: different aspects and parts of it need to be understood.

**1.1.5 Summary or Questioning Shrinking Cities**
In the above I have tried to give an introduction to the term shrinking cities by looking at the origin of the term, introducing different design and research projects, giving an insight in the different causes, while I have attempted to look at shrinkage in addition to urbanism and to come up with different elaborations on the term. By this introduction the relevance of the term shrinking cities becomes clear because I see a huge need for focusing on areas in decline and for working with new ways of action to address planning in declining areas. But some questions still seem to come forward like: how is the geographical definition of shrinking cities? How is the relationship between growth and decline?  Is the term shrinking cities new? What are the overall tendencies in contemporary urbanity and what are the social ones? In order to investigate further and to clarify whether shrinking cities is a term that has its justification, I will conduct both further theoretical and empirical investigations, in the following

## 1.2 GROWTH AND DECLINE

The processes of urban growth and decline are not new but have been a reality since ancient times, where the creation and destruction of cities were features of civilization, like for instance in Greece, Rome and Byzantium (Storper 1989). Thus, throughout history cities have always been changing between growth and decline, and "there has always been an element of instability in towns, which by their very nature are liable to rapid growth in favorable circumstances and to stagnation or contraction when these circumstances alter: they can be seen as the barometers of economic change, rarely still for long time" (Dyer 1991: 60). This means that shifting relations of political and economic power between places have always created an uneven geography (Storper 1989) and a restructuring of the urban. Society and the built environment provide an ever changeable, non-static structure, changing and restructuring over different time spans.

**1.2.0 The Move from Countryside to City and the Breakthrough of Planning**
One of the major influences on the urban configuration was the late 1800 transformation from an overall agricultural society to an overall industrial society - entering the era of industrialization. In this era capitalism and urbanism were connected, which means that the industrial city/urbanism was connected with the industrial economy. This era has also been described with the term modernization (Hohenberg 1985) characterized by mass-production, the assembly-line and growth in welfare and mass-consumption. And finally, some speak of this era as the era of 'Fordism' (among others Jessop 2004). Fordism is a generalization of the principles of production and politics invented by Henry Ford for his production of the Ford automobile and the leadership of General Motors. These principles are then later translated as a model for the socio-economical progress which took place in the industrial era.

The era of industrialization developed in different phases. In the beginning of the industrial era, the manufacturing plants were situated in rural settings producing textiles and metal products (Hohenberg 1985). These plants were situated near the raw materials needed for the production. In these areas cities rose and if the production was combined with the possibility for trade the cities grew rapidly (Hohenberg 1985: 184). An example of such a city is Manchester which is often thought of as the world's first industrial city. In the eighteenth century Manchester became a center for fabrication of and trade with cotton which gave the city the nickname ' Cottonpolis'. In Manchester several technological inventions were made in order to optimize the manufacturing of cotton. By these inventions the city entered a new phase in the era of industrialization.

*"…….technological change made it profitable to begin replacing hand labor with machines and tiny workshops with factories. The combined impact of steam engines, spinning mules, and open-hearth furnaces triggered new modes and geographies of production, particularly in the textile and metallurgical trades".* (Hohenberg 1985: 184)

With this increased industrialization the cities experienced huge transformations where urban concentration took place due to the industrial changes. The cities grew, some very much and others less, but generally this period is characterized by both physical and economical growth of cities. However, some cities were not able to adapt to these new modes of production and experienced de-industrialization (Hohenberg 1985: 179); e.g. the collapse of the linen industry in the mid-nineteenth century in Ireland (Hohenberg 1985: 186).

However, the overall picture showed exponential rates of growth. People moved from the countryside to the cities in order to work in the manufacturing industries, manufacturing mostly iron, cotton, textile and steam driven machinery. What happened was an enormous Immigration to the cities resulting in high densities. On top of that, the invention of the railway contributed to more growth making it possible to link different cities and industrial sites (Hohenberg, 1985). This immigration to the industrial cities can be compared with the development of contemporary Shenzhen, in China. Here an enormous rural-to-urban migration is also taking place.

This continuous urban concentration resulted in congested and polluted inner cities and as a consequence, the inner cities could not handle the pressure. Therefore, the city burst its old limits (the medieval city) and while the inner cities were sanitized and rebuilt, new city areas were planned and built. Thus, following these processes of urban concentration a countermovement of urban de-concentration/spreading emerged – the beginning of suburbia (Hohenberg 1985: 206).

### 1.2.1 Shift from Industrialization to Globalization

*"The urban crisis that exploded all over the world in the 1960s was one of several signals that the long postwar economic boom in the advanced industrial countries was coming to an end."* (Soja, 2000: 95)

In the 1970s the once so mighty industrial countries were experiencing difficult times and by the mid-1970s the world economy had entered its steepest decline since the Great Depression (Soja 2000: 96). Due to structural changes in the economy, many industrial cities stopped growing and many inner cities began declining. This was not just a passing phase but became a long term period of de-industrialization. The manufacturing plants were getting more and more efficient, and the demand for heavy industries was no longer the same. On the contrary, new demands and technologies emerged that founded the basis for a new economy - creating a new world order.

A shift took place from an economy based on manufacturing, with principles like the assembly line and the blue-collar worker, towards a knowledge based economy focusing on white-collar workers and knowledge and service. Political geographer and urban planner Edward W. Soja (2000) talks about an urban restructuring taking place based on a shift from the industrial capitalist city to the postindustrial or information-age city. This restructuring is a fundamental shift away from the structures and logics of what Soja calls urban-industrial capitalism. Thus, in the late 1970s a new era of capitalism slowly emerged – the era of globalization. Apart from this general shift from manufacturing industry to knowledge based businesses, historical changes such as the 1970s oil crisis and the fall of the Berlin Wall (the fall of the iron curtain) have influenced the development. Finally, the development of IT and telecommunication technologies have made globalization the overall developmental guideline for contemporary societies.

This restructuring has been coined in several terms all starting with the term 'post', indicating the era following something else. Terms like post-modern, post-Fordist, post-Keynesian have all been used to describe the transition and shift occurring from a mere industrial era to a new global era. Without the post in front of them, these three terms have all been used in the industrial era where e.g. the Fordist growth model was the foundation for planning in the industrial era where this Fordist model represented the mass-production, the assembly-line and growth in welfare and mass-consumption. In its post-state, post-Fordism is a useful term to

describe the new tendencies related to changing competitiveness among urban territories, changing forms of economic and social policies and changes in growth dynamics (Jessop 2004: 44)

**Globalization**
Defining globalization is not that easy and often globalization is a "metaphor for practically everything that has been happening almost everywhere through the late twentieth century" (Soja 2000: 190). Nevertheless, one could define globalization as an international system.

*In recent years, the flows of goods, services, information, capital, and people across national and regional lines have increased greatly, giving rise to the notion that modern economic activity is somehow becoming "globalized".* (Storper 1997: 169)

The present era of globalization is seen by Thomas Friedman (2000: 9) as the second era of globalization[14]. Friedman defines globalization as: "the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nations-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper that ever before". This is related to the fact that with globalization the distinction between first (capitalist), second (communist) and third (developing countries) worlds has disappeared and the free market is getting everywhere. The world has become "smaller".

Basically, globalization consists of three parameters. The first parameter is the liberalization of the flow of goods, exchange and capital which has influenced the national state. This development started with the Marshall help after World War II, then came the EU and after that the fall of the iron curtain: all these factors have helped burst the free movement of capital. The second parameter is the technological revolutions achieved in transport and communication which have made it easier to communicate with the whole world. And finally, a new international division of labor has been created which has changed the fundamental patterns of the geography of worldwide companies (Oswalt, 2004). This new division of labor has become widespread worldwide, where e.g. countries like China, the Tiger economies in Asia and places like Silicon Valley have experienced growth. This has coincided with the de-industrialization of "old" industrial regions and thus a new economical order has come about (Soja 2000). The most distinctive feature of this current phase of

globalization is the fact that capitalism is networking and operating on a global scale (Soja 2000: 195) without any place specific attachment, resulting in a disappearing place identity. The global system is an ongoing dynamic process which spreads free market capitalism to virtually every country in the world where "global capitalism is being constructed through interactions between flow economics and territorial economics" (Storper 1997). In this era flexibility is seen as a key ingredient, where both businesses and people have to adapt to changing situations (Soja 2000). This is evident in the increasing mobility of the workforce, among other places.

Globalization of economic processes seems to have weakened that substantive power, if not the formal authority. The global business organizations that control certain important international resource flows seem, in many cases, to be de-territorialized, and thus not directly dependent on processes that states, whether regional or national, can effectively regulate (Storper 1997: 185).

This fast and ongoing globalization affects the local society and according to Friedman "the challenge in this era of globalization – for countries and individuals – is to find a healthy balance between preserving a sense of identity, home and community and doing what it takes to survive within the globalization system." (Friedman 2000: 42). In order to be able to incorporate the global and local, Friedman and others introduces the term glocal where they mix global and local in order for your country and culture to adopt aspects of globalization in a way that results in growth and diversity, without overwhelming it (Friedman 2000: 295). Thus, the interaction and hybridization across many different scales are of primary importance, according to Soja.

*"By literally interjecting the local into the global (and vice versa), the concept of glocalization triggers a disruptive challenge to the widespread view that globalization and localization, and their more ideological or advocative expressions as globalism and localism, are separate and opposing processes or ways of thinking."* (Soja 2000: 199)

**Neo-liberalization**
*"….The importance of the national scale of policymaking and implementation is being seriously challenged, as local, regional, and supranational levels of government and social partnership gain new powers"* (Jessop 2004: 52)

As a contributing factor to globalization or as a result of the increasing globalization, an increasing neo-liberalization has emerged since the late 1970s. The increased neo-liberalization is putting the welfare state under pressure and, thereby, the role of the nation state has been weakened. The national state has lost some of its significance and as a result the economy is less dependent on national regulations, among other things. This means that from having a key role the state is now less important. The degree of the weakening of the welfare state is, however, depending on the local welfare states and their policies. Subsequently there are for instance huge differences in the ways the post-welfare state is manifesting in Denmark (where the welfare state remains rather strong) and in the U.S (where the welfare state has never been that strong). And maybe globalization is reducing differences between American and European planning (Newman and Thornley 1996).

*"Economic priorities such as promoting structural competitiveness superseded traditional welfarist, redistributive priorities such as territorial equity and spatial equalization"* and *"the most globally competitive urban regions and industrial districts replaced the national economy as the privileged target for major spatial planning initiatives and infrastructural investments"* (Brenner 2004B: 472).

Thus, neo-liberalization is facilitating the freedoms of global capitalism by making policies that support a global economy (Soja 2000), and an increased privatization of public services is happening, among other things. Furthermore, a deregulation is taking place in the economic sector and barriers to trade are broken down in order to have a free flow of capital. And finally, labor unions and welfare states are under attack (Soja 2000: 216)

This increased neo-liberalization means that in addition to planning, public-private-partnerships are taking over from traditional public planning increasingly. This shift can be coined in the shift from government to governance where urban policies have changed character. The term governance attempts to express the processes of deregulation, privatization and liberalization (Kuhnert and Ngo 2005: 21). The distinction between government and governance is that government represents a hierarchical and centralist form of running a state, while governance refers to a de-centralist and network- like form of guiding a state (Kuhnert and Ngo 2005: 21). Through this transformation the power is not solely concentrated at state level, but

intervenes between the state, market and the civil society where the construction of the urban increasingly becomes a negotiation between the three. This means that the nation-state looses power and has to interchange with other scales of power.

**1.2. 2 Changing Spatial Configurations - Polarized Spatial Development**
In many ways it seems "impossible to assume a spatial outcome of so vaguely-defined a concept as globalization, which involves many intermediary levels" (Andersen, 2002 95). But the fact is that globalization can be seen as generating major changes in the urban structures worldwide. In recent years, contemporary urbanity has been subject to many changes which have had a serious impact on localities. The shift from manufacturing to service society, the rising demands for well-qualified labor and the opening up of free trade and finance have influenced the urban structures. According to Hans Thor Andersen (2002: 95) the impact of this is an increased urban concentration, which has transformed the economy and the labor market to a polarized structure. This is not to say that globalization can be seen as a system that creates changes that are similar all over the globe but rather that globalization is a set of processes which are mixed with the localities and thus reflecting local, social, economic and political conditions (Andersen, 2002).

**The City-region**
This urban concentration is seen in the construction of huge city-regions. Globalization has changed the character and role of the city. With the weakening of the nation state the city has got an increased role and globalization has affected the city both structurally and socially. This development started in the 1970s in the US and in the 1980s in Europe where a general shift in policy occurred from a nation-state welfare model that presupposed spatial equality on a national scale as a condition for national growth towards a more entrepreneurial model based on strong city-regions (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

*"Cities have key roles in this transition as places, spaces and scales of economic, political, and social reorganization"* (Jessop, 2004: 51)

In this new situation the role of cities has changed: they are now regarded as engines of economic growth where they are key centers of economic, political, and social innovation, and they are also key actors in promoting and consolidating international competitiveness and innovation (JESSOP 2004: 59). An economic restructuring has taken place where cities and city-regions were targeted as the keys to

national economic competitiveness. Cities and city-regions were now considered "dynamic growth engines through which national prosperity could be secured" (Brenner 2004B: 470-471). In Denmark this development was marked by the refocusing of Danish planning in the Copenhagen region during the early 1990s (Brenner 2004B: 472).

This development engenders an increased competition among cities and they have to position themselves very carefully on the global market (Newman and Thornley 1996). Here cities or city-regions have the advantage of positioning themselves both in addition to a specific place-based potential and to the ability to insert themselves in the global "spaces of flows" (Jessop 2004: 51). This means that city regions stand out both in addition to their own spatial qualities and in regard to their capacity to enter into global networks, infrastructurally as well as virtually. With this growing global competition among cities it becomes more and more important to stand out from the crowd by creating a unique identity on the social, cultural and economical level. Cities, simply, have entered an inter-urban competition in regard to differing from each other (Albertsen and Diken 2004). This results in the staging of a certain city identity where cities attempt to stand out from the crowd with a unique image. The" local policy has been transformed in an attempt to meet the challenges of territorial competition" (Andersen 2002: 94). Cities and regions invest in "place making" and create branding strategies in order to promote the specific potentials and resources of the given place and to specify the potentials for investors to invest in their locality. Hans Thor Andersen (2002: 94) mentions two waves of investment in "place making"; the first one is a more simple marketing of cities through for instance events in order to attract firms, tourism, organizations etc. and the second focuses on cultivating qualities which are hard to copy anywhere else.

Finally, as a consequence and also in order to succeed in the competition, cities expand into huge agglomerations, which can be coined in the term city-regions. The cities quite simply fight for a share in the new economy, and, as a result, the difference between the countries, regions and cities with a growth based development - and thereby a share in the global economy - and those without that continues to grow bigger.

*"The modern city, in my opinion, derives its dynamism from its ability to interweave these different methods, achieving a mix of the cold self-interest of the contract, the reassuring warmth of shared cultures and the often cynical imaginativeness of networks".* (Veltz 2000: 46)

This role of cities is what Saskia Sassen (1991) describes in her book The global City in which she states that many major cities have a new strategic role as places for culture, economy etc. in the world's economy. This development has had a massive impact on both international economy and urban form. The main aspect for Sassen is that the "more globalized the economy becomes, the higher the agglomeration of central functions in relatively few sites, that is, the global cities" (Sassen 1991: 5). In this global era an increasing integration of urban economics into the global economy is taking place, implying that the economy is less dependent on national regulation leading to the importance of urban areas as central loci of economic growth.



Fig. 28: The growing metropolis of London (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

**Spatial Polarization**

But as the term shrinking cities indicates urban growth is not the only thing happening in contemporary urbanity. This urban concentration coined in the city-region can in some cases be happening on the basis of decline in other places. This development can e.g. be seen in the Danish case where 2/3 of the Danish population live in an urban structure called the H-City and this number of inhabitants will increase in the coming years, whereas the number of inhabitants in the remaining parts of Denmark will decline. Thus, the contemporary urban fabric can be characterized as a political-economical geography of both growth and decline, where, on the one hand, a demographical and economical concentration is happening, resulting in fast

growing city-regions and, on the other hand, a de-concentration of other urban areas is taking place.

A constant movement of population, jobs, and capital is going on which does not only include the growth of territories, but also the decay and abandonment of buildings and locations (Beauregard 1993). Among other things, old industrial sites and outskirt areas are facing economical problems while suffering from a decline in population whereas other regions and cities are becoming high value nodal points.

Edward Soja states in his book *Postmetropolis – Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* that what is happening today with contemporary urbanity is significantly new and different from previous, urban developments, but still not entirely new. On the contrary, the urban fabric is a constantly changeable structure, influenced by the different capitalist eras, among other things. Soja argues that since the beginning of industrial capitalism a shaping and reshaping of the urban fabric have developed (2000: 148). Soja (2000:99) refers to both Castells and Harvey who say that a specific urban territory is created by capitalism and that this territory is designed to facilitate the accumulation process. Soja (2000: 99) continues to refer to Harvey and how Harvey in 1982 talks about the "notion of a spatial fix to describe how capital seeks to reorganize its specific urban and regional geography in the attempt to respond to crisis and open up "fresh room for accumulation"".

Thereby, one can say that what is happening now does not differ from what happened in the industrial era, the only difference is maybe the extent and character of these changes. This means that when capitalism changes from industrial to knowledge based the urban fabric is affected as a result. Thereby, urban areas never seem finished but continue to change over time, influenced by changes in society (Hohenberg 1985: 291). When society becomes more and more structured by the market; the instability and changeability of the urban seem to increase, as a consequence.

**Sticky Spaces and Slippery Spaces**
Thus, as indicated above, contemporary urbanity might best be described as a patchwork of declining and growing areas. Several urban scholars have been engaged in this development trend and have attempted to describe and conceptualize this.

Stephen Graham (2002) talks about how some places strengthen their strategic roles and are becoming important high value centers of control, research and in-
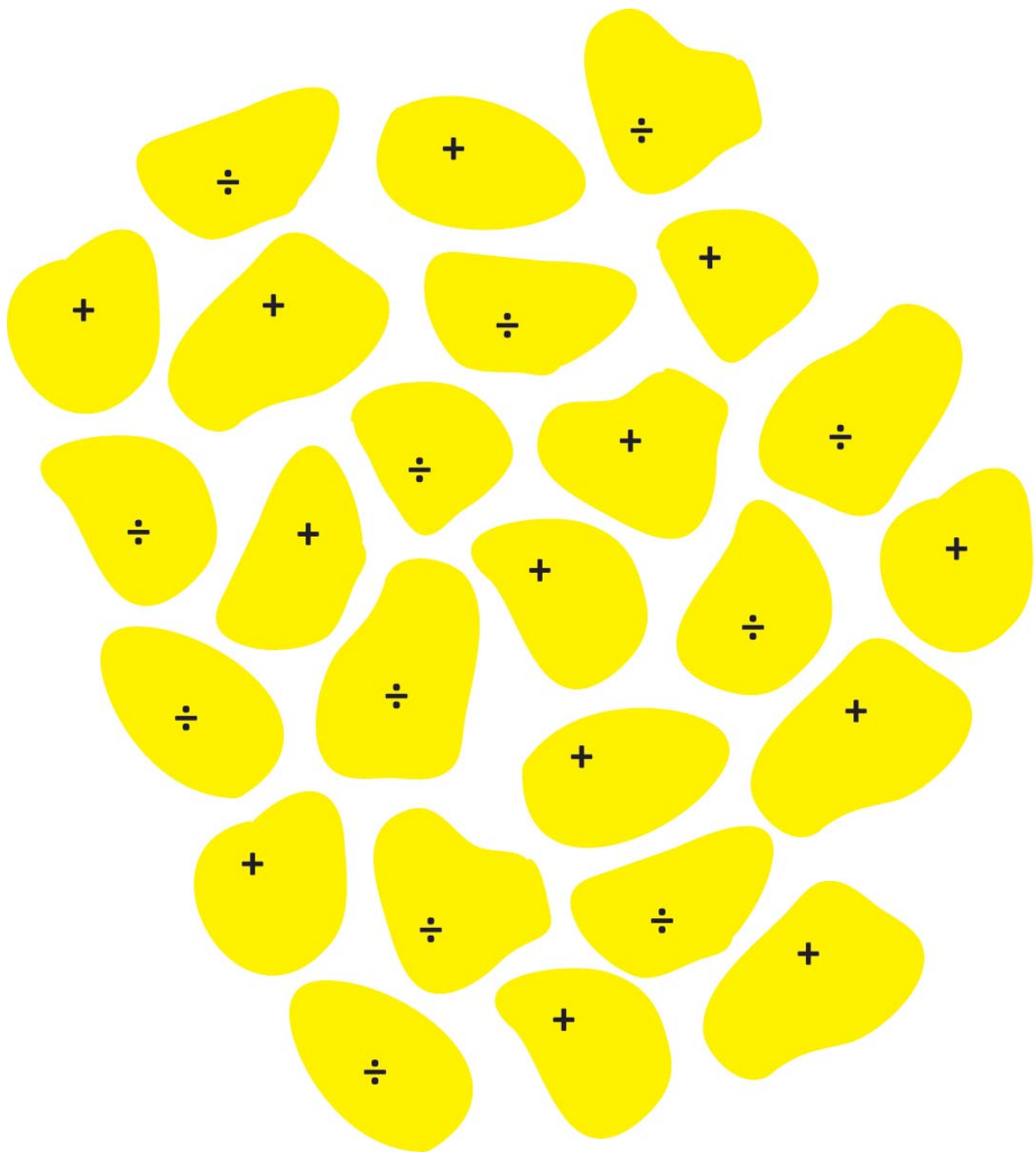
Fig. 29: The contemporary urban fabric can be described as a conglomerate of greater and smaller urban concentrations living in the same organism. In this conglomerate there are build and open spaces as well as urban growth and urban decline. This imap is inspired by Landscape Architect Klaus Overmeyer (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

novation in the global world, while other areas are left behind and only have lower value activities. The high value places Graham denotes as "Sticky Spaces", whereas he refers to the others as "Slippery Spaces". The "sticky spaces" are places like global financial centers such as New York, London and Tokyo, which are spaces for technological innovation (technopoles) and continuous innovation, and they are urban internet spaces producing creations for the internet and the digital industries (Graham 2002). These "sticky spaces" attract the well-educated workforce, because interesting high-tech jobs can be obtained. In the "sticky spaces" a concentration of jobs (particular highly skilled jobs), culture, growth and finances etc. can be found.

The lower value places are called "slippery spaces" and according to Graham, these places can be far away from contested concentration which, with help from the new technological network, makes routine transactions and flows to the rest of the world; they are named "call centre cities". Another "slippery space" is "machine spaces" which are places that sell and produce machines to the internet (Graham 2002). Examples of these are peripheral cities, old industrial cities and cities in the developing world etc. Graham concludes that the "Sticky Spaces" are going to grow and maintain their position, whereas the future for the "slippery spaces" is much more problematic, because they can easily lose their industries. The kinds of industries placed in "slippery spaces" can easily be moved to other places with low income employees. The fact that the economy in the "slippery spaces" is based on low salaries alone is another problem.

This development of concentration and de-concentration is, according to Piere Veltz (2000), connected to a number of factors. Firstly to the high forms of mobility, where specifically the young and better educated people move to the bigger cities as a career choice. Secondly, the concentration is related to a relative de-specialization of regional and urban economies, where the labor market in the specific regions is experiencing increasing segmentation by level of employment, less and less by type of activity (Veltz 2000). Thirdly, this development is connected with the increased disconnection between centre and periphery where the city-regions are relying less on their periphery than on direct relations with other city-regions (Veltz 2000). These growing horizontal relations do, however, not necessarily imply an automatic decline in rural or in interstitial areas (Veltz 2000: 37). Finally, a growth of inequalities between zones, between cities and regions occurs - and indeed within the same urban areas (Veltz 2000: 37).

Piere Veltz (2000: 33) is also pointing out the polarization that appears due to the "global" financial activity and the high-tech research within a few world centers giving costly problems to the hinterland. Veltz (2000: 33) defines this development as an "archipelago economy" in which horizontal, frequently transnational, relations increasingly outmatch traditional vertical relations with the hinterland". A reason for this development is that a company's relation to a specific nation state or city is no longer as close as previously. Companies have become international and global and are thereby free of relations to the nation state. The decisions are taken with focus on the economy of the businesses and without consideration of the interests of the nation-state or the local society. Companies like coca cola are attainable all over the world and have production sites in different places around the world. Also in a Danish context this development is increasing where e.g. the University of Aalborg has been privatized and has thereby become subordinate to the market with its demands for growth: as a consequence, a department has been opened in Copenhagen. Thereby, the relation between the company (here the university of Aalborg) and the city (Aalborg) in which it was originally positioned, has weakened and the place identity is becoming blurred.

**Growth and Decline in Relation**
This development into slippery and sticky spaces shows that the emerging technological landscape has an uneven geography, with a tendency for the big metropolitan cities to continue to grow and become completely dominating. This creates a fracture between the mega-poles and the surrounding areas which are left behind. Graham sees a need for rethinking: "[...] the relationship between so called global cities and the traditional idea of the hinterland" (Graham 2002: 121).

Even though Saskia Sassen (1991) mainly talks about global growing city-regions, she also talks about how the growth of some cities or regions very much rests on the shrinkage of others.

*" Prior to the current phase, there was high correspondence between major growth sectors and the overall national growth. Today we see increased asymmetry: the conditions promoting growth in global cities contain as significant components the decline of other areas of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan and the accumulation of government debt and corporate debt."* (SASSEN. 1991: 12)

Thereby, Sassen states that growth and decline are connected. Growth and decline can be seen as an interactive organism characterized by an ever changing dynamic process between growth and decline. Thus, growth and decline can not be designated as dichotomies but can rather be seen as two aspects of globalization, mutually depending on each other. This means that growth and shrinkage can be understood as a multidimensional bipolar process. Depending on the scale and scope of views, decline appears rather as an aspect of growth (or the flipside of growth). This development is most likely going to increase in the years to come, and it is not very probable that the bipolar character of shrinkage and growth will disappear (Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2006).

A way to describe this development is through seeing the urban landscape as a polarized map of both growth and decline where urban concentration and de-concentration processes are simultaneously creating an increased polarization between the growing and declining areas, spatially, economically and demographically on a broad variety of scales. Thereby, shrinkage and growth co-exist side by side, on an overall global scale but moreover, the bipolar character of shrinkage and growth can also be observed within most countries and regions (Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2006). This shows that growth and decline are connected and relational: e.g. shrinkage can only be understood when seen in relation to something else (growth).

Regional geographers John Allen, Doreen Massey and Allan Cochrane look at this relational aspect of growth and decline in their book Rethinking the Region from 1998. The book looks at transformations in the southern part of England. This relational approach[15] is about understanding space and place "as constituted out of spatialized social relations" (Allen et al 1998: 2). Thereby, the authors argue "that "regions" only exist in relation to particular criteria" (Allen et al 1998: 2) and that certain conditions constitute a given region.

*"The identities of regions are constructed through their relationship to "other" regions and naturally they come with a history in which they have already been "placed" so to speak".* (Allen et al 1998: 10)

Regions are part of a system in which they have a certain position, like a core region, a peripheral region, a manufacturing region, high-tech region or another type

of region (Allen et al 1998: 10). All regions can not be a core region, but yet again, a core region can only establish its 'coreness' in relation to other non-core regions (Allen et al 1998: 53).

Also Professor emeritus at Global Urban Research Unit, Newcastle University, Patsy Healey deals with the relational aspect of urbanism. Healey (2000: 517) talks about contemporary urbanism as being in a world of multiplex and globalized relationships. This relational approach focuses on the dynamic and relational and on processes rather than on objects, where urban areas are "..."driven" and "shaped" by different forces, interacting with each other in different ways, bypassing, conflicting, coordinating in complex trajectories" (Healey 2000: 526)

*"Growth and decline feed off each other as households, businesses, and capital switch incessantly from one place to another in search of the "good life" and political and economic reward".* (Beauregard 1993: 21)

This means that there is a tension and a connection between concentration and decentralization on all scales, both on a local, national and international level, and it is difficult to separate the two processes. The closer analysis of current transformation processes shows that the overall decline happens in an extremely differentiated way on a local scale, where growth and decline are situated close to each other. Looking at what could be considered an overall declining territory both growth and decline exist locally, and in that way growth and decline are interconnected. The same would be true in a generally growing area, where declining areas can also be found inside this growing territory. Thereby, territorial shrinkage occurs as a dynamic pattern of growth and decline rather than a coherent, regional condition (Ny Thisted Kommune & Realdania 2007). To eliminate territorial shrinkage as an isolated phenomenon is therefore not possible.

**Social Polarization**

However, this differentiation does not only seem to appear among cities and regions. Along economical and demographical polarization comes social polarization where those left in the declining territories often have a lower income and education than the national average. Globalization engenders employment change and rising income differentiation resulting in an apparent growth in inequality, with increasing poverty and exclusion as a consequence (Andersen, 2002). These tendencies take on a "spatial dimension, and we are now witnessing the formation of "spaces of exclusion"" (Andersen, 2002: 93).

Thereby, these urban concentration and de-concentration processes challenge the paradigm of spatial equality connected with the welfare state – is it possible to obtain the same "goods" in respectively growing and declining areas? Hans Thor Andersen (2002: 94) talks about marginalization as being "considered the main cause behind the observed social polarization with a growing share at both income extremes: a rising number of high income earners and an even faster growing number of excluded at the other end of the scale."

In the era of globalization, knowledge and development are keys to economic growth. This has resulted in the changes in the labor force; today education is essential in order to get a job. As a rule, more jobs require more skills which means that many manually repetitive jobs are replaced with machines or moved to other countries, where they can be done either more efficiently or in less expensive manner. (Friedman 2000). At least from a western view, many manufacturing businesses have been moved to often third world countries (to slippery spaces) where the production costs are lower.

The processes of globalization have also been linked to a number of contemporary social changes. Hans Thor Andersen (2002: 94) points out that "globalization was born out of the neo-liberal discourse celebrating unlimited possibilities for production and trade" and thereby it is weakening the social concerns which in many ways were connected with the welfare city.

*"However, globalization is not just a process which impacts production, employment and financial markets; it also affects political relations by weakening labour unions and drawing focus away from welfare-oriented issues. In fact, the overall social discourse has come to favour a liberalist or libertarian interpretation of aims and methods in politics".* (Andersen, 2002: 93)

Thus, social polarization is seen as neither unavoidable nor inseparable from globalization. On the contrary, it is the opinion that government initiatives and (welfare) regimes and politics can contribute to making a difference regarding economic and social relations. Different local and national institutions influence to which degree economic competition will manifest itself as social inequality (Andersen 2002).

*"Social polarization, then, is not a necessary consequence of globalization. Here, welfare policies matter. Neither can spatial polarization be directly read from social polarization. Spatial polarization has in fact been increasing in Scandinavia, even if social polarization has not"* (Albertsen and Diken, 2004: 20).

Furthermore, spatial polarization gives rise to a renewed focus on housing, where the real estate market becomes overheated in the growing areas due to an increased demand for houses, which also results in increasingly segregated dwelling areas as only a certain group of wealthy people can afford living there. A similar focus appears in declining territories due to an emptying housing stock, an aging population and thereby cheaper housing in the declining territories. Thus, the discussion of growth and decline is not a win/win situation. Growth is not possible in all places and thus lack of growth is the problem, whereas consequences like pollution, high house prices etc. occur in rapidly growing areas.

### 1.2.3 Summary

As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the presence of both growth and decline featured already in the industrial era. However, the industrial era rested on demographic and economic growth, in general. The urban configuration at that time experienced huge changes due to a shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy, and with the emergence of industrialization capitalism and urbanism became connected, making urban growth reliable on economical growth. This meant that some urban areas experienced an enormous growth due to the presence of rapidly growing manufacturing plants in these specific urban areas.

In recent years a new shift in economy has happened, moving from the industrial economy to a global knowledge based economy which also influences the urban fabric. The global society seems to engender a contemporary urbanity consisting of both growing areas *and* declining areas. Since the 1970s factors like globalization and deindustrialization have activated a restructuring of the urban fabric, producing both growing and declining urban areas. Parallel with these changes deregulations of the public administration toward an increased neo-liberalization have taken place, contributing to increased polarization.

This means that today there are tendencies pointing towards an increased differentiation between growing and declining areas and furthermore, some tendencies point toward a larger number of declining areas, caused by a number of structural

changes such as the growing globalization and a shift towards an increased neo-liberalization. Thus, the emergence of a hybrid condition of growth *and* decline is not something new; however, the interesting and important thing is that an increased reorganization of the urban into growing city regions and declining areas is occurring. The German architecture critic and writer Wolfgang Kil is certain that we will experience more enormous, unpredictable changes in the next 10 to 20 years (Karssenberg 2007). These changes will derive from an intensified globalization and the increased concentration into hot spots of economic success where the market is and not where politicians may decide that a place is suitable for a certain business or not. (Karssenberg, 2007).

Furthermore, these theoretical investigations have contributed with the conclusion that growth and decline enter into a dynamic relationship - this relational aspect is important to understand when trying to figure out what contemporary urbanity looks like. Growth and decline enter into a multidimensional, bipolar process where urban concentration and de-concentration processes appear. This means that growth and decline co-exists at a multiple range of scales. Consequently, I would like to stop using shrinking cities as an isolated theoretical concept. It seems misleading to use a concept that is unable to describe the real urban situation - a reality where growth and decline are part of a dynamic patchwork. This is not to say that there are no shrinking areas. On the contrary, I recognize that some areas are suffering from severe decline and that these areas appear on equal terms with the fast growing city regions. But I think that in order to understand contemporary urbanity we have to look for a conceptualization that captures this dynamic patchwork of growth and decline.

Finally, these theoretical investigations have dealt with the conception of contemporary urbanity. Here contemporary urbanity can best be described as a poly-nuclear configuration consisting of different enclaves connected through various networks. This understanding seems comprehensive to use in relation to the dynamic patchwork of urban growth and decline.

Prompted by the theoretical investigations above, it seems interesting to look further into how the real life situation actually manifests. In the following I will conduct the case study of Baltimore and Denmark to ascertain whether the theoretical investigations correspond with what is happening in real life.

# PART II - ANALYSIS MODEL

## 2.0 ANALYSIS MODEL

In order to analyze the two cases a model or a frame for analyzing the cases is constructed. The intention of the case study is to analyze the cases according to both how they are transforming and which interventions have been taking place in addition to their transformation. As previously mentioned, this will be done by exploring and explaining the cases. This accentuates the need for having a bipartite analysis model; the use of the two parts of the bipartite analysis model is divided into two separate chapters, where the first analysis model is used in a chapter diagnosing the two cases, and the second analysis model is used in a chapter analyzing existing design proposals.

The first model will be used to pinpoint which conditions influence the two cases Baltimore and Denmark – how they are transforming and what are the underlying causes. The purpose here is to look at what different cases of urban transformation actually look like and which structures are affected in the different cases. This brings knowledge about the two cases individually and will also contribute to showing the diversity of the cases, which means that even though some of the underlying causes are the same, a number of "local" characteristics come into play, making the situation different in each case.

The second analysis model is to be used to analyze the different designs and strategies which have been launched in the two cases. Here the purpose is to map the different strategies and projects that have been applied to territories with negative urban development until now. This is intended to facilitate the purpose, which is to get an overview of what has been successful and what has failed as well as which changes need to be considered by urban designers and planners in the future.

The two analysis models will, respectively, take form of a quadrangle and a matrix. These two analysis models have been chosen because it seems as though development trends in present contemporary urbanity engender another analytical approach.

Before introducing the two models, I will, in the following, introduce different division and categorizations of the urban and the urban structures that have been useful in the conceptualization of the two models.

**2.0.0 Different Categorizations and Divisions Usable for the Construction of a Model**

In urban design it is common to make different divisions and simplifications in order to "read" the urban fabric, as these simplifications make it easier to embrace the complexity of the urban fabric. Among those suggesting simplifications is Gottmann who argues "that the life and form of the cities are directly and indirectly affected by the forces that modify the society, categorized traditionally under four titles: demographic forces, economic forces, the impact of technological change, and cultural variation" (Gottmann 1978, in Madanipour 1996: 41). Gottmann interprets this into a division of hardware and software when he states that "the built environment is a "hardware" in which the socio-economic system works as "software".

**Scale and Time**

The aspects of time and scale are two overall premises for a model which is to tell something about contemporary urbanity. Urban territories transform over time and are ever changing, and furthermore, urban territories have to be understood both as local entities and parts of global networks which then again are interlinked. This means the issues of scale and time are important to incorporate into a model of analysis, as underlying themes.

The time issue covers the fact that territories transform over time and that urban territories are not static but enter into a long row of ever changing processes. This can be coined in the following lines of Madanipour (1996; 218): "taking into account the factor of *time* can be a substantial improvement in our understanding of space and our urban design undertakings. To understand space more fully, we need to follow its evolution and change over time."

The notion of scale appears in the field of urban design, where urban design, in analytical as well as interventionist ways, covers a broad range of scales from a very large level to regional, city and city quarter level. Thereby, urban design deals with a broad variety of scales, from a strategical, policy level over the design of cities to the design of smaller parts of urban areas. In that way one can talk about a macro- and a micro-scale of urban design (Madanipour 1996:94). Madanipour (1996:94) states that "whereas the design of cities and settlements has focused on the broad issues of organization of space and functions, micro-urban design has concentrated on the public face of architecture, on public space in parts of the cities, and more detailed considerations of design at that scale".

This issue of scale can be related to the discussion made by several scholars conducting social-scientific research on contemporary rescaling processes like scholar Neil Brenner, who states that previously well established territories such as nation-states are being unraveled, creating a reorganization of the geographies of capitalism (Brenner, 2004A: 5); this implies that nation-states are weakened and corporate businesses are strengthened, due to changes like globalization and neo-liberalization. There is an increased flow of capital on the supranational, continental and global level, leaving the national economies behind. Changes are happening that influence geographical territories: previously, it was very much on the level of the nation state that power, economy etc. were discussed, but with the increased globalization and neo-liberalization new levels have emerged where these issues are discussed as well. Thereby, the different levels or scales are interwoven in different constellations- in the words of Neil Brenner:

*"As this abbreviated sketch of contemporary political-economic transformations indicates, purely territorialist, nationally focused models have become an inadequate basis for understanding the rapidly changing institutional and geographical landscapes of capitalism".* (Brenner 2004A: 7)

This means that scale becomes an important element to take into consideration when trying to understand the urban fabric and in relation to this the importance of interscalar relations. It thus becomes vital  not only to look at different scales, e.g. global, local, national etc. but also to look at the interplay between them and the relationallity of scales (Brenner 2004A: 8). Brenner emphasizes that scale is a process and not a fixed, pregiven thing (Brenner 2004A:8). In addition to that Brenner talks about scalar hierarchies - "….emphasizes above all, the hierarchization of spaces in relation to one another" (Brenner 2004A:9) – where "one geographical scale only can be grasped relationally, in terms of it's upwards, downwards and transversal links to other geographical scales …..(Brenner 2004A: 10).

Furthermore, the term scale is related to the discussion about global versus local and theory versus design. Scale and scale-wise reflection is seen as a tool, which can be used in relation to urban transformation. By using scale, it is possible to deal with tools and working methods that can be used at the local level, and which take the global level into consideration covering both micro and macro level.

German landscape architect Klaus Overmeyer looks specifically at the local level and points to the importance of looking at the micro-level and at the social and cul-

tural influences of the population. He considers the local actors and their networks to be extremely important and he finds it imperative to have rules and laws that are 'flexible in relation to the needs of these actors.

**Hard-, org- and soft-ware**

A modified version of the terminology of hard- and software, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, is created by Crimson, the Dutch group of architectural historians, in which they divide the urban fabric into a triad of hardware, software and orgware[16]. The hardware represents the physical structures of the city and the construction and deployment of physical elements (http://www.crimsonweb.org/spip.php?article17, downloaded august 7, 2008). Here urban design becomes the transformation of the space, where the space is the container for, and organization of, material objects (Madanipour 1996: 216). Here urban design makes the spatial organization of a given space. For Crimson the software is the specific ideas and knowledge (software), forming the background for design projects. It is the tool box that urban designers and planners use in order to make interventions – it is the professional background of the designer. Finally, the orgware (Organizationware) refers to factors of an administrative, political or policy related nature (Crimson Architectural Historians, 1995). It is the actors and agents that influence and constitute the urban space and the political and economical processes taking place in urban space.

"Orgware can be regarded as a topography of opportunities and constraints, with implications at least as significant for a plan as the long-accepted influence of physical topography." (Crimson Architectural Historians, 1995)

Crimson states that the success or failure of urban projects is dependent on the 'Orgware' and that "the orgware of a plan has to be understood first before its software can be intelligible and its hardware made real" (Crimson Architectural Historians, 1995).

**Bourdieu's term: Capital**

Another way of describing the different aspects of the urban fabric than orgware, software and hardware can be used when taking the point of departure in Bordieu's term capital. Whereas Crimson has an urban design perspective, Bourdieu's field of interest is the social space, and it is unlikely that planning and urban design played a role when the term capital was invented (Hannemann 2005). There will, however,

be an attempt to apply the concept of capital to urban design. Thus, as it is not possible to apply the capital term directly, Bourdieu's way of thinking can be used as inspiration. Here one could talk about the urban fabric consisting of several different kinds of capital.

Bourdieu states that social space is constructed by the social agents that all occupy a relational position in relation to each other in the social space (Bourdieu, 1997: 21). As a consequence, this model rests upon a relational understanding: the group exists only in relation to each other and solely by virtue of their mutual similarities and differences (Järvinen, 2007: 352).

In order to unveil the many different aspects of the social world, Bourdieu introduces capital as a term to state that economical capital is not the only resource from which agents and groups of agents can benefit. Bourdieu operates with three primary kinds of capital: cultural, social and economical capital. Furthermore, he uses the term symbolical capital. Economical capital covers money and material resources. Cultural capital has two aspects: education (exams, titles etc.) and skills of high culture. It is about being able to interpret and know about history, language, politics etc. and to have access to cultural objects such as books, theories and techniques (Järvinen 2007: 352). Social capital refers to the resources an agent possess by virtue of his/hers membership of a certain group. Finally, symbolical capital is a superior kind of capital of prestige or reputation that the three previous forms of capital can be transformed into. A certain skill or quality can, thus, function as symbolic capital in one group, but not necessarily in another (Järvinen 2007: 352).

Even though Bourdieu might not think of the term capital in relation to cities, at least the term social capital has been used in research on cities. Among others, German city sociologist Christine Hannemann (2005) is talking about the social capital as an important element in planning. Christine Hannemann looks at social capital in relation to shrinking cities, and specifically, in relation to smaller towns in East Germany. She discusses whether an intensification of the social capital can contribute to a better city development and whether social capital is a resource that can be used in city development (Hannemann, 2005). Here, social capital can be developed into a concept for analyzing local potentials of the local actors. Hannemann discusses how mapping of social capital can be useful in shrinking territories in order to find unseen resources that can be used in a development of the shrinking territories (Hannemann 2005). This exploitation of local resources could be used to improve the condition, where a thematic overview of the productive and constructive

potentials of a society could render visible the positive dimensions and qualities of a shrinking city, which can point at the local actors and their capacity, and thereby activate and develop the local resources (Hannemann, 2005).

I broaden the use of Bourdieu's social capital term as a concept for analyzing cities to also cover other kinds of capital. One could talk about the urban fabric containing different forms of capital; in addition to this, one might think of four forms of capital. Economical capital also influences the development of the cities and is decisive for the development of the urban, in many cases. The cultural capital could be the urban as a stage for culture. Culture takes place in the city and, thus, as stage the city both becomes the container of culture and an influence on the development of cultural life. The third capital is, then, the social capital, where the city functions as a container for social life and an influence on social life. The fourth and final capital form is the symbolical capital. One could say that some places, buildings and squares are ascribed a special value or character that makes them unique and gives them a symbolic character. But in this context it might be more suitable to move away from symbolic capital and instead talk about physical capital and thereby go beyond Bourdieu's categorization. This capital covers the urban form: the built-up, the open and the infra structure and the symbolic value that physical structures might have. In relation to an urban design approach this might be the most important.

**Infra-, built-and, open-structures**
Xaveer De Geyter Architects is only looking at the physical capital or hardware in their analysis of the area denoted the Blue Banana, in the book After-Sprawl from 2002. De Geyter is working with establishing a certain view on the urban situation that sees urban territories as a totality and not as an enclosed hierarchical structure.

The spatial analysis of the area is performed in two ways. The first part of the atlas presents topographic material of the various areas and aligns the same information "objectively". Here, there is no hierarchy and the open structures are just as important as the built structures. Subsequently, the maps are divided into layers of built structures, infrastructures and open structures, where the respective layer is isolated and thereafter compared with the others so that general patterns become obvious (De Geyter, 2002). This is conducted to emphasize the positive and negative spaces with point of departure in Nollis maps of Rome. Here, they focus on the fact that contemporary urbanity is just as much infrastructure and open structures as it

is built structures, and that it is important to look at all three in order to understand contemporary urbanity.

The second section consists of a "subjective" series of photographs of the regions, capturing the perception of the sprawl as experienced during excursions. The photos give an insight into the "landscape" of the different sprawl conditions.

The combination of map material and series of photographs reveals a duality. One the one hand, it seems that these areas are characterized by high building density and an intricate infrastructure; one the other, the photo series demonstrates that each area evokes a perception of naturalness. De Geyter thereby sees the urban areas as units without a hierarchical structure (away from center vs. periphery). Thus, De Geyters model is useful in analyzing the hardware of an urban territory.

**State, market and civil society**
The division into state, market and civil society is a generalized viewpoint in large parts of social science which can be used to analyze the orgware, where it represents the different actors and agents involved in the different cases and in that way the division also simplifies these different actors and agents.
Therefore, these three groups represent the existing groups and thereby three different roles and powers. The actors and agents of a society and their network are the people who build, use and value the urban fabric (Madanipour 32).

This triad division into state, market and civil society is a well-known way of separating the different actors in the fields of planning and social science – though they are only divided in theory in order to simplify, as in "real" life they are overlapping and intermingling (Jensen, 2005). It is an urban power analysis. The urban-power-er-analysis is an approach to understand and unveil the different actors, institutions and structures determining how physical interventions are created in the city (Jensen, 2005). It is a way to determine who has the power in specific planning and urban design interventions and how this is perceived in urban space. Thus, the urban space and related interventions are expressions of the ways in which different agents and actors are negotiating their different interests and how these become spatial realities.
According to Ole B. Jensen, the three areas of actors are not only separated by function, but in addition each is dominated by certain "media" (Jensen 2005). He operates with the following model:

The different media are only selected according to where this media is the strongest, which implies that money also means a lot for the state and the civil society, but that this media is the strongest in the market. There is, however, also a loosening

| Form of organization | Media | Rationality | Role |
|---|---|---|---|
| State | power | political legitimacy | citizen |
| Marked | money | instrumental | marked actor |
| Civil society | solidarity | communicative | private person |

Fig.30: State, market and, civil society  (source: From Jensen, 2005: 184)

up in the strict separation between the three actors in the field of planning, where, among others, the private-public partnerships are models that try to break up this triad division and work across different interests. This is an important consideration to take into account when it comes to understanding the orgware in the cases.

The state represents all national institutions, such as municipalities and the government. The state 'is' the rules and the law and the maker of different policies. Politically, it is the intentions and actions of the politicians, both locally, nationally and globally that are important. How do the politicians act towards urban shrinkage, and how do they see the future? The will of the politicians to change the situation or to think differently is important, but so is the attempt to understand the political motives for making the choices that they make. Finally, this category covers the laws and rules of a given place. What are the mechanisms used by a municipality or state to address declining territories, and which planning tools and policies are developed in order to grasp the development that these declining territories are heading towards?

The market 'is' the many private businesses from manufacturing businesses to the local grocery. This category has the economical resources and the goal is to create profit. This also means that they are often reluctant to invest in areas where the economical situation is declining.

Finally, the civil society represents all the citizens in a city or country and this category contains different clubs, unions, local community groups, individuals etc. Their forces are the social and cultural commitments. It can be difficult to pinpoint the medium of the civil society exactly, because different groups or individuals try to bring their point of view across.

It is the actors and agents who decide what is going to happen in territories of urban transformation and  these three groups possess (or do not) the political and financial power to intervene and do something. Thereby, these three groups represent the political and economical resources or powers which are fundamental to any kind of issues in urban transformation.

Software and Socio-cultural Processes
The way Bourdieu defines social capital as the resources of an agent can be related to the software term of Crimson. Software is for Crimson the specific ideas and knowledge that form the background for design projects,  in which the agent is an architect or planner possessing a specific resource, like the profession of urban design or architecture. When looking at the software part in combination with Bourdieu's social capital term, software could be expanded to also include values and issues such as welfare issues, culture, sustainability, quality of life, social responsibility, visual values, identity etc. Thereby, software is not only a specific design approach e.g. modernism or landscape urbanism, but also the embedded values and issues. This is related to overall purpose motivating the designer: growth and expansion or the every day life of the people. Using many different values and issues in the design process also means that when looking at the urban we need to look further than the physical structures in order to include the social and cultural issues, where the interrelationship between space and people is interesting.

Thus, this software category is also the planning traditions and the historical background. These two issues can give an insight into the reasons why the territories undergo urban transformation and how the planning of the territory has been affecting the extent and character of the urban transformation, over the years. The assumption is that there are differences in the way urban transformation appears in a welfare state tradition as opposed to a liberal tradition.

### 2.0.1 Two Models

In the following, I will develop two models of analysis, on the basis of the above introduction of different ways of breaking up the urban fabric in order to analyze it. These two models will derive from a mix of the above concepts. The first model is a model for analyzing territories in transformation and the second model will be a model for analyzing interventions applied to transforming territories.

### Model I – Analyzing Urban Transformations

The quadrangle model as shown in figure 31 breaks up urban transformation into four different layers, which all have to be investigated in relation to the two overall aspects of time and scale. This means that urban transformation is not just one single unified structure, but consists of several issues. The categories used in this model are somewhat congruent with the division of categories I have made in relation to shrinking cities (see part I chapter 1.1.4), thereby pinpointing the operational aspect in shrinking cities. In order to create an overview of the different aspects I have developed a simplified model consisting of four components: physical capital/hardware, orgware, socio-cultural capital/software and economic capital. By setting up this model of analysis it becomes possible to capture the unique his-
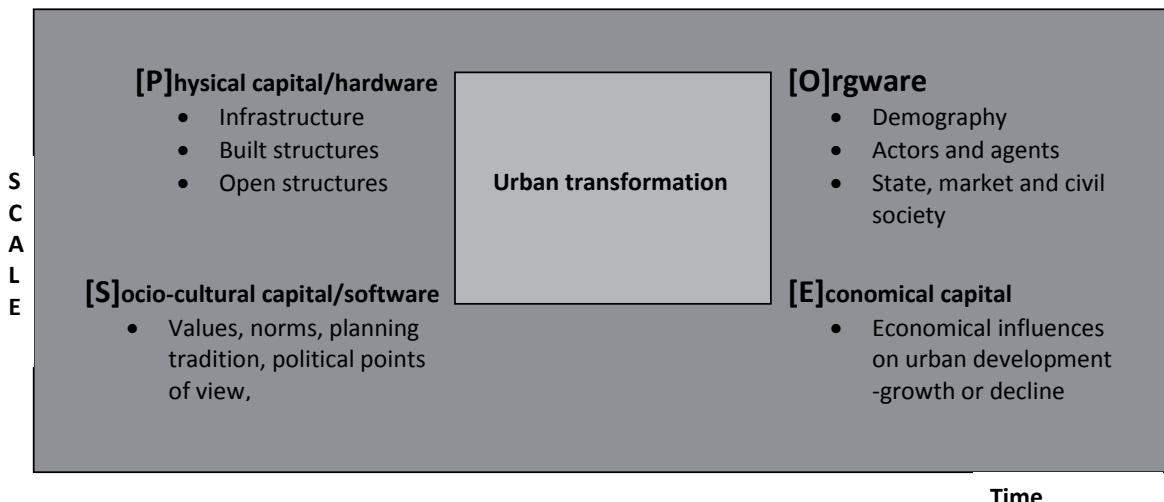


Fig.31: analysis model 1 – diagnosing urban transformation (illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

tory of each case and its contexts of physical, economical, aesthetical and political character which are further influenced by different actors and events, united into one complex unit.

The model derives from a combination of Crimsons hard-, soft- and orgware and the different capital forms I have developed with Bourdieu as my point of departure. In the category of physical capital I use De Geyters triad division into open structures, infrastructures and built structures as a way of mapping the physical structures. Furthermore, the way to map the actors and agents in the orgware category is linked to Jensen's division of state, market and civil society, even though this is a very analytical model that simplifies reality. When it comes to the socio-cultural capital, I look at the different values, norms and traditions influencing the construction of the urban. And finally, the economical capital derives from Bourdieu and this is integrated in the model as the fourth aspect of importance. It is included because the economical aspect of the urban fabric is the necessary factor for making interventions and also because urban territories are containers of economical power.
 Fig. 6 analysis model 1 – diagnosing urban transformation

**Model 2 - Analyzing Interventions**
In the two cases a long row of different initiatives has been developed. In order to map all these initiatives and to illustrate their differences and similarities, a matrix I set up, shown in figure six, based on the division of the orgware as mentioned above into: state, market and civil society and a number of structures, which are scale, physical capital/hardware, socio-cultural capital/software and economical capital. These subjects can be related to the subjects in the quadrangle model, just put together in a new way. This matrix is chosen because it is possible to look at both the individual parts and the interplay between the different structures and processes in a matrix

Thus, by looking at the state, market and the civil society I can throw light upon different aspects of the designs/design proposals. Furthermore, the choice of cases can be justified due to the fact that I am looking at design proposals that extend from state to market to civil society. This I done because it is a thesis that the intermediate link between overall theoretical strategies and descriptions to the local, very place- specific design proposal is missing.

| Categories \ Orgware | State | Market | Civil society |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Scale**<br>(strategy/policy or place-based design) | From local or national governments to EU<br><br>Overall regional policies<br><br>Plan law,<br>Policies, regulations | From local businesses to multinational corporations<br><br>Big project financed by private investors | From local life style groups and local NGO's to international movements and NGO's<br><br>Local initiatives, community involvement, playgrounds, gardens etc. |
| **Economical capital**<br>(What is the financial frame for the project - how much money is spent to realize this project? Further this category deals with the fact whether the project initiate a economical surplus – is it supposed to make profit) | Funds, tax base | Money is not an issue<br><br>The trade cycles, the variability of capital | Have often no or very few money available |
| **Physical capital/ Urban form**<br>(The physical appearance of the project. Is it e.g. a housing project or a project about green areas) | Physical interventions | Physical interventions | Physical interventions |
| **Socio-cultural capital/ software**<br>(which values/issues are behind the project: welfare, culture, sustainability, quality, visual, identity etc) | Welfare to most people<br><br>City growth | money | Social issues, sustainability<br><br>Gentrification, social change |

Fig.32: Matrix for analyzing existing designs (Lea Holst Laursen)

| Design projects Baltimore |
|---|
| The Charles Center – Urban Renewal |
| Baltimore Inner Harbor |
| Living Cities |
| Neighborhood Design Center |
| Parks & People |
| Watershed 263 |
| Baltimore Ecosystem study |

Fig.33: design projects Baltimore

| Design projects Denmark |
|---|
| Thy National Park |
| Cold Hawaii |
| Land of Possibilities |
| Collaborative Rural Area Renewal |
| Local bottom-up projects |

Fig. 34: design projects in Denmark

# PART III - DIAGNOSIS

As a way of looking at what is actually happening in contemporary urbanity in regards to growth and decline, the stories of Baltimore and Denmark will be told. These two cases give an insight into the kind of contemporary spatial urban development we are presently experiencing. The two cases are a documentation of the state of two urban areas. In order to see how the analysis is conducted see part 0.2.10 and part II, analysis model.

## 3.0 THE STORY OF BALTIMORE

Driving along the interstate Route 95 from Boston to Washington DC on a tightly packed highway is like driving through one continual urban area[17]. One hardly loses sight of built-up areas, and it is difficult to decide where e.g. New York stops and Philadelphia begins. The built structures on both sides of the road are in the majority and only now and then you experience a few miles with larger open areas. Otherwise your eye meets urban and suburban areas with production plants, commerce areas, residential areas and last but not least a surplus of roadside advertising for food, shopping, firms etc, and a huge number of different kinds of roadhouses offering your favorite fast food at MacDonald's or Pizza Hut and a place to sleep in hotel chains like Econo Lodge and Holiday Inn. This huge amount of coffee bars, gas stations, fast food restaurants and hotel chains corresponds to the large number of cars driving on the interstate highway meeting a need to buy supplies when being on the road.

Being on the road is an all American phenomenon. Driving your car down the highway is connected with freedom, accessibility and the American Dream. Thus, the automobile is by many denoted as the ultimate love object of the American man/woman (Herron 2001: 41). This has produced a very mobile population moving around the country with great flexibility.

During my stay in the U.S[18], I myself was of the belief that the best way to experience the land of the free was behind the wheel driving along the highway. So, in the smallest car you could rent – a Mitsubishi (not being totally converted to the American life style with huge cars and still having a little North European ecological and economical consciousness ) – with my 10 month old baby in the back seat, my husband in the driver's seat and myself in the passenger's seat with a big map in my hands, we took off from New York City on an interesting road trip experience through the Northeast American Seaboard from Boston in the north to Washington in the south. The final goal was to arrive in Baltimore and look at an American shrinking city.
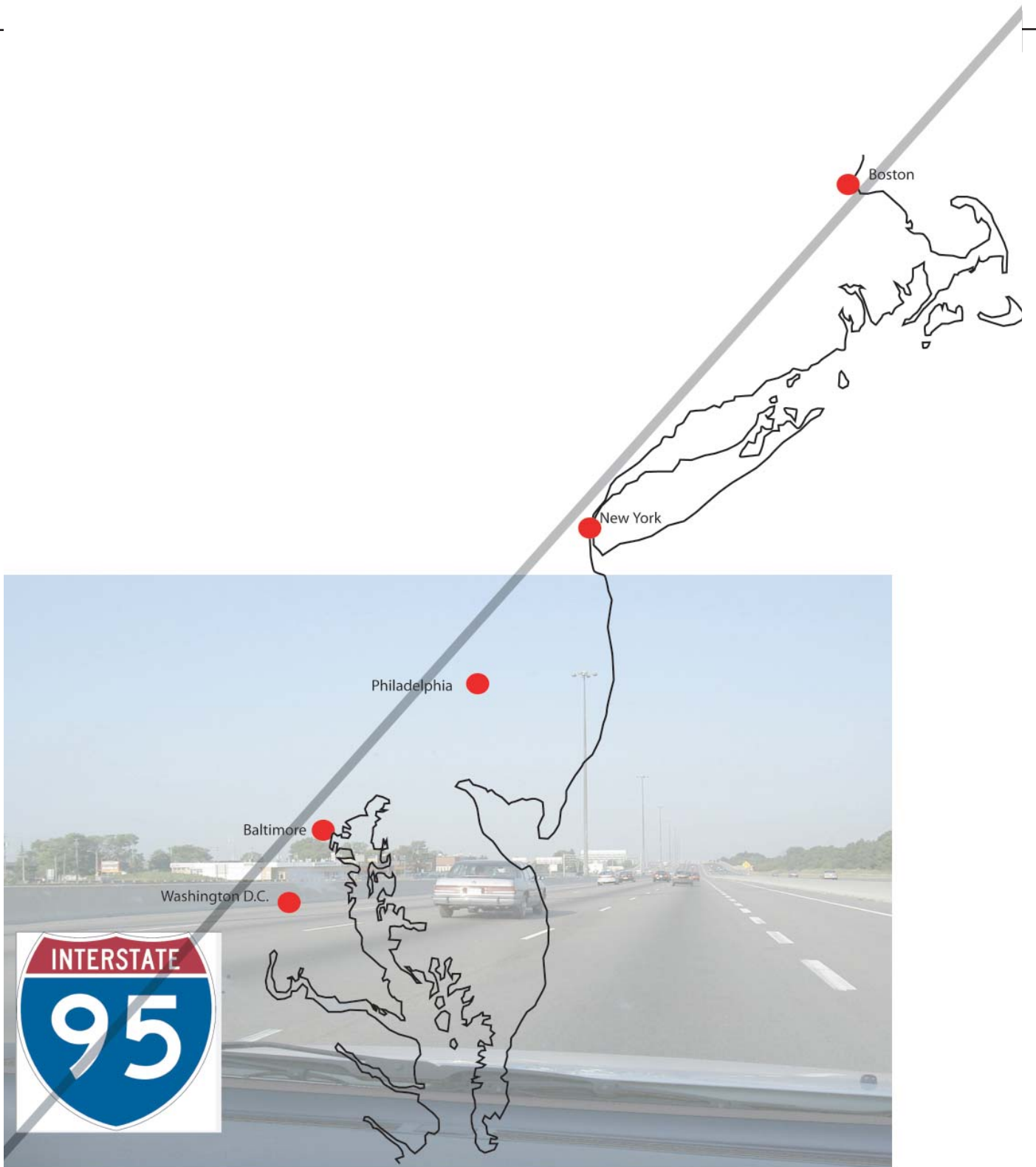
Fig.35: The highly urbanized north east coast of USA with Boston in the north and Washington DC in the south (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

**3.0.0 American Development Trends – Suburbanization and De-industrialization**
This urban field of the Northeast Seaboard, with the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington DC, is an excellent picture of the development of American urbanism. It tells a story of an urban America that has changed since the end of World War II.

In the US post-war period two major urban/spatial changes emerged simultaneously – the decline of the industrial city and the rise of the suburbs (Beauregard 2007: xi). This meant that the urban image became one of office buildings, suburbs and consumption instead of factories and production (Beauregard 2007: xi). The two changes seem to be related to one another (Beauregard 2007) and it is difficult to determine what came first the decay of industrial inner-cities or the growth of suburban areas. But all in all one can say that a shift in the capitalist geography took place, from being concentric and industrial to becoming suburban and about consumption. However, it is important to understand that even though urban America changed and the industrial cities declined, the American society had a remarkable economic prosperity in this period. In the postwar years America was one of the giant powers in the world – having the status as the world's big brother.

**The American Industrial City**
In order to understand this development a small detour has to be made, because prior to these urban changes the area of attention was the American industrial city. Then, in the beginning of the twentieth century the American cities grew drastically; new land was incorporated, buildings rose continuously and population and economy increased (Club of Rome 1972). This growth was based on an extreme industrialization with the emergence of huge manufacturing industries, and particularly the cities along the northeast Seaboard as well as other cites in the North American Rust Belt[19] such as Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago experienced this growth. This industrial boom resulted in a severe urbanization driven by the migration from the country to the city. Growth became the only thinkable development, making cities and growth inseparable. It was a very concentric and centralizing way of approaching the urban where cities grew to relatively high densities (Beauregard 2007: 3).The American cities were pursuing size which was measured in the number of skyscrapers, the amount of transportation lines and the number of inhabitants. But at some point a physical limit seemed to have been reached which was threatening continuous growth. At first the skyscraper and the elevator presented the solution which made vertical city growth possible (Club of Rome 1972).

**From Concentric to Poly-nuclear Urban Structures**

To return to the post-war urban changes of de-industrialization and suburbanization an underlying cause was the restructuring of this concentric urbanism (Beauregard 2007: 3). The industrial city became replaced by a more fragmented urbanism due to suburban development and to emerging metropolitan areas (Beauregard 2007: 4). This transformation has been given many names by different urban scholars; e.g. Beauregard calls it a shift towards a more parasitic urbanization and Flusty and Dear (Flusty & Dear 1999: 26) call it a polycentric urbanism. The term polycentric urbanism is also frequently used in regional development and planning theory inside the European Union, and it can be seen in the work of Andreas Faludi, Jensen & Richardson, and Peter Hall among others.

The causes behind this restructuring are numerous and intermingle with each other. One of the prime causes was the weakening of the advanced industrial countries. After World War II the demand for industrial products became less and the huge manufacturing industries experienced a cutback in business, resulting in less demand for manpower. Globalization can be considered one of the overall causes for this decline in the manufacturing business, where the relocation of labor-intensive operations to low-wage countries has been a crucial cause. Furthermore, the changes towards a knowledge based and service society emerged. These changes can be seen in the fact that while Rustbelt industrial cities stopped growing Sun Belt[20] cities boomed.

Besides, the inner-cities were considered overcrowded and congested because goods and workers could not move in or out of the inner-city quickly enough. This was solved through interventions in transportation such as the invention and mass production of the automobile and a maximization of infrastructure with a network of expressways and mass transit systems. Interstate highways throughout America were constructed under President Eisenhower in the 1950s. These highways were among others constructed through neighborhoods in order to allow downtown office workers to commute to work from the suburbs (Beauregard 2007: 5). The car became affordable for the middle class and the mobility flows, the number of cars and the matching number of parking lots increased.

Another cause for the decline of inner-cities and the rise of suburban areas is related to racial issues. In the 1920s African-Americans migrated from the rural south to the urban centers mainly in the north, to work at the different manufacturing busi-

nesses. They settled down in the city centers, and with the arrival of Afro-Americans in the city centers, whites moved out into new suburban quarters. The African-Americans and other minority groups that moved from the south did not have the education and training to enter into an increasingly specialized job market, resulting in unemployment. The immigration of blacks and the emigration of whites created a deepening bifurcation of the city into rich and poor (Beauregard 1993: 256).

The result of these developments was that the inner-cities stopped growing and experienced job loss, business closures, physical decay, poverty, racial tensions and city government bankruptcy in the early 1970s (Beauregard 2007: 2). The old city became in some ways useless or could not fulfill the needs of modern American living.

*"Population loss; the physical deterioration of housing, factories, and shops; the collapse of urban land values; rising city property taxes and soaring crime rates; deepening poverty and unemployment; and the growing concentration of minorities have all, at one time or another, been dominant themes".* (Beauregard 1993: 3)

Thus, decline could be seen as a reaction to decade after decade of city growth, population growth, production facilities growth, employment growth etc. - maybe the American city was becoming too big. This resulted in the flight from the city to the suburbs, which again was connected with an increased welfare in the middle classes in the 1950s and 1960s. In any case, while the inner-cities declined the suburban areas began growing rapidly.



Fig.36: Deindustrialization in Detroit (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

*"The wealthier people, who have an economic choice, are moving to the ever-expanding ring of suburbs around the cities. The central areas are characterized by noise, pollution, crime, drug addition, poverty, labor strikes, and breakdown of social services. The quality of life in the city core has declined. Growth has been stopped in part by problems with no technical solutions".* (Club of Rome 1972: 150)

The middle-classes (mostly white middle-class) residents wanted a life with their own house and garden and emigrated from the cities to new homes with light, air, better hygiene and a suburban life.

*"For the average American the standard of living rose appreciably; by the early 1960s, ownership of an automobile, a television, and even a detached single-family suburban home was no longer merely a middle-class dream"* (Beauregard 1993: 114)

This development was supported by the government: suburban living was subsidized by the state and reinforced by cheap loans, payable cars, a developed highway net and communities with schools, shopping malls and security. The suburban living was one of the solutions for the homecoming soldiers from World War II and their families. Slowly American urbanization became suburbanization and the American dream was connected to suburbia.

All suburban regions expanded at an astonishing rate (Beauregard 2007: 5) where the consumption of land created a sprawled urban landscape totally dependent on the automobile. The life of the Americans was now lived on the edge of the city and the suburb became the symbol of the good life (Kunstler 1994). This development trend has by several scholars been linked to the fact that the American society has an anti-urban disposition (Kunstler 1994, Beauregard 1993).

To exemplify this escalating suburban movement that has been going on in the US since World War II, the suburban population increased by 12% in the period from 1970 to 1977, whereas the central city population decreased by 4.6% (Holcomb and Beauregard 1981). Furthermore, since 1950 the population density has decreased with 50% (Rusk 1993).

Fig.37: Suburbanization in Detroit (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

*"Inner-city industries and down-town department stores reduced operations, closed, or moved to the suburbs, their actions facilitated by a just-built system of interstate highways and the emergence of new forms and types of development: suburban-tract housing, shopping malls, retail strips, and industrial parks"(Beauregard 1993: 115)*

In the slipstream of this suburbanization process empty inner cities developed and "obvious to all was that urban decline and suburban growth were related "(Beauregard 1993: 127). The contrasts of growth and decline became highlighted where the decay of the city centers was contrasted with the growth of suburbs (Beauregard 1993). The old city centre was abandoned for a life in the suburb, and the picture of the growing metropolitan area and the declining city center is very characteristic of American urbanism, creating what is called the doughnut effect[21]. The "doughnut" metaphor of the mid-1960s continued to be used to characterize the ongoing decline of the city and the growth of outlying areas. What might be considered alarming is that today it is not only the city center and the old working class neighborhoods that are abandoned; now the inner suburban areas are also facing difficulties. The suburb just continues to grow at a rapid speed further away from the city center, and American urbanism might be considered as a moving urbanism that continues to colonize country and leave the old behind[22]. Furthermore, the American planning traditions have this individual character as a relic from the colonization of America and the free claim of land by the colonists at that time.

### 3.0.1 Baltimore Metropolitan Area

Returning to the road, the sign signals that we are approaching Baltimore and we enter into the outer ring road surrounding Baltimore. The fact that we are approaching a city can hardly be seen because we have been moving in this continuous urban structure the whole time. But there is one indication that we are getting closer to a city: not increased built –up areas, but instead the increased amount of automobiles and the number of wheel tracks, now up to 5 in each direction – all of this indicates that we are approaching a bigger city.



Fig.38: Getting nearer a city the number of wheel tracks increases and the prevaling role of infrastructure is extremely evident (Photo: Iben Schrøder)

Naively, we think that now we must be very close to the city center, and when we find our hotel after entering the Baltimore National Pike we think we are just a few miles from the city center. We even discuss whether we might be able to walk into down-town from here. But no! The hotel is situated in one of Baltimore's many suburbs and we are 10.4 miles (17, 74 km) from the Inner Harbor and the city center.
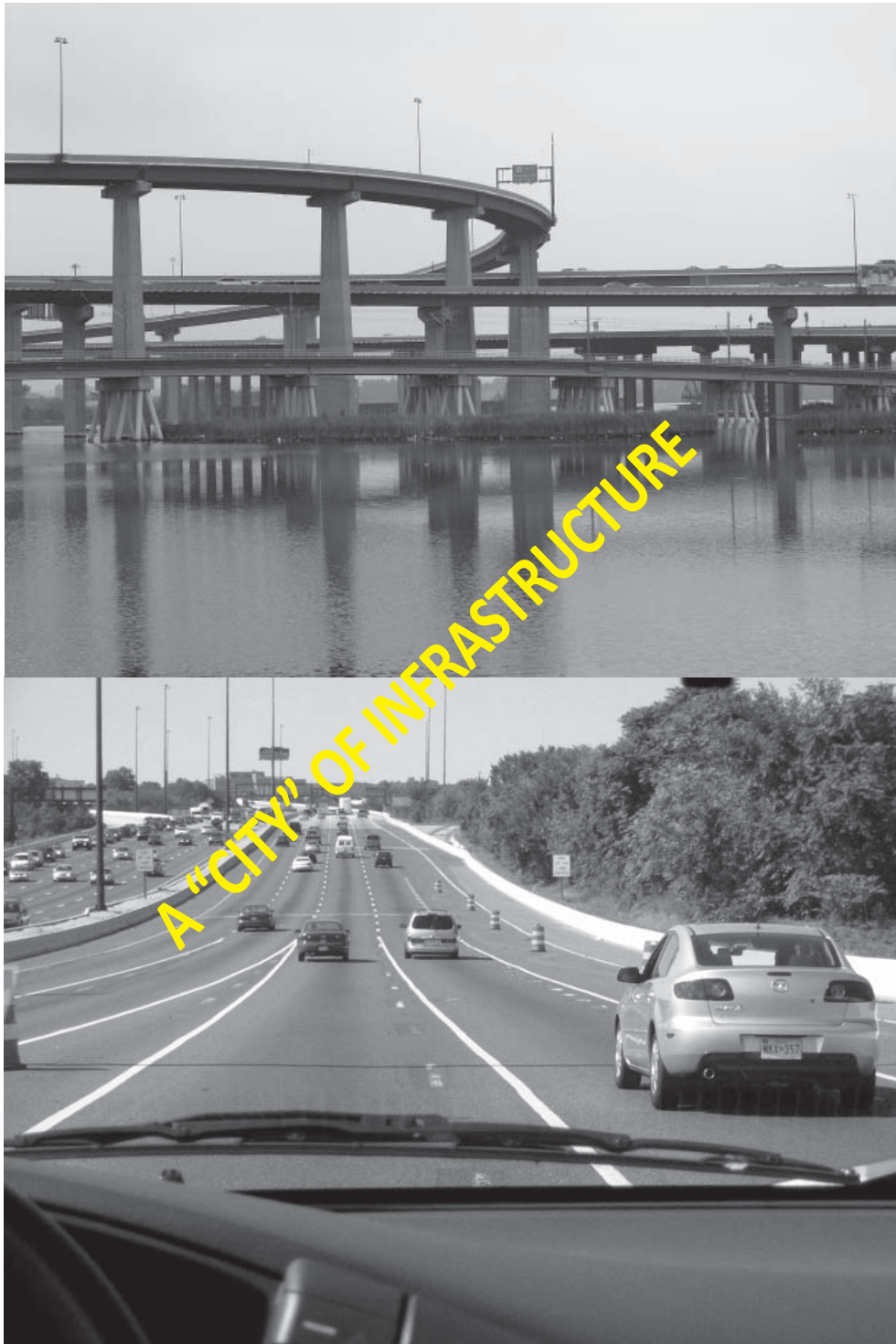
Fig.39 and 40: The huge infrastructural systems of Baltimore (Photo: Rudi Saltoft Olesen and Iben Schrøder)

**Socio-cultural Capital – the Suburb is Home**
Exploring the neighborhood around the hotel we find that the area is lively with
shopping malls, restaurants, residential areas, office buildings and so on. It is a place
where people live, work and stay – this is home! As I am about to discover later, this
suburban area is more lively than the down-town city center.

Fig.41 and 42: The american way of home = the suburb (Photo: Katrine Hoffmann Parup-
Laursen and Lea Holst Laursen)

**In 2003 the percentage of white people living
in Baltimore- Towson Metro area was 68%
whereas the percentage of African-American
was only 27,3%**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006A)**

**Personal income per capita in 2002 in Bal-
timore- Towson Metro was $35,556**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006A)**

**Physical Capital – the Low Density Suburb**

The area is characterized by a very low density where the open structures are just as glaring as the built structures. Furthermore, the built structures are very area consumptional, as they take up much land due to their low rise structure.

Another characteristic is the frequency of automobiles –these are driving in a continuous flow throughout the area. This is obviously a car based society and when stepping out of the hotel or any other building in that neighborhood, you enter into a big parking lot. The huge amount of asphalt is almost the only open spaces you meet. As a pedestrian you have to be very aware of where you are going not be run over by a car, because sidewalks are not common in the suburb – apparently nobody is walking!

Fig.43 and 44: The low density of the suburb characterized by single family housing (Photo: Katrine Hoffmann Parup-Laursen)



**The number of housing units have increased with 3, 3% in the period 2000-2004 in Baltimore- Towson Metro Area**

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006A)

**In 2005 the Baltimore- Towson Metro area Persons per square mile of land area 3: 1,017.9**
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006A)

**In 2005 Baltimore Towson Metropolitan area ranked 19th with 2,655,675 people**

**In 2000 the Baltimore- Towson Metro area had an area of 3, 104, 5 square miles**

**In 1999 28,7% of the households in Baltimore- Towson Metro area had an income of $ 75,000 or more**

**In 1999 9, 5% of the persons living in Baltimore- Towson Metro lived below poverty level**

**Population change in Baltimore- Towson Metro area in the period 2000- 2005 4, 0%**
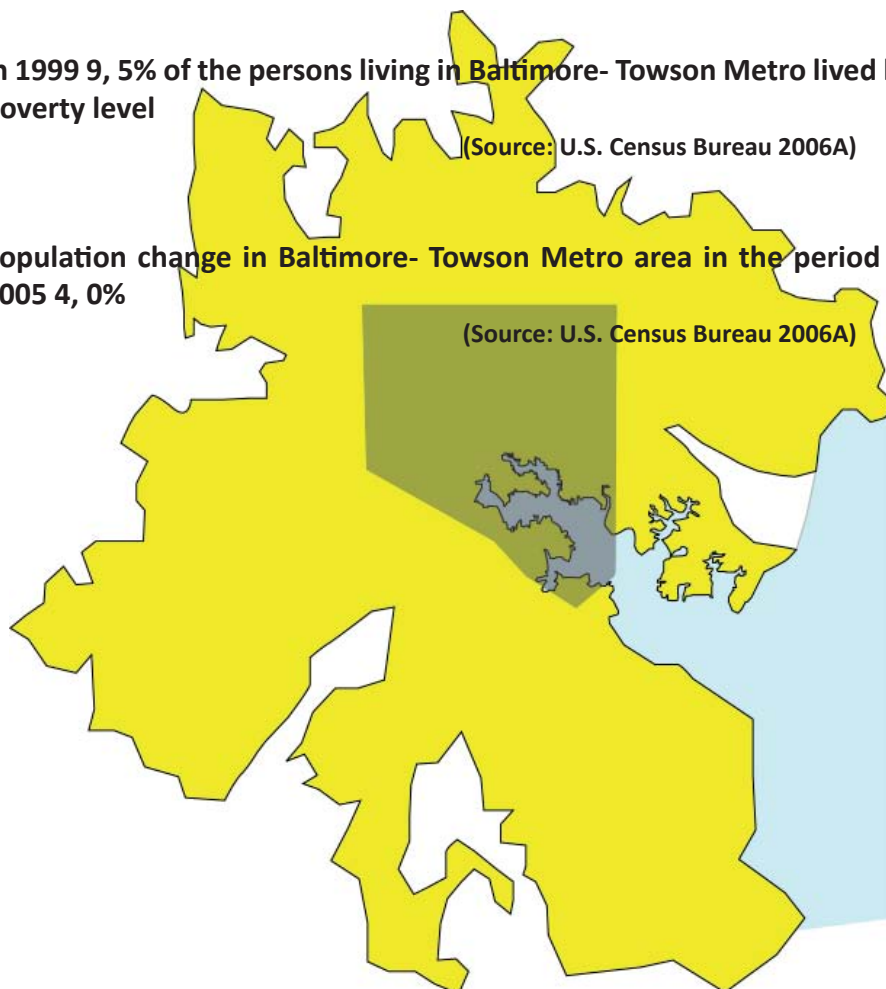
Fig.45: The area of Baltimore City and the continious growing metropolitan area (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

**Orgware – Suburban Growth**

Looking further into the Baltimore metropolitan area is like looking at all other Metropolitan areas exploding outwards at an extraordinary rate (Harvey 2000). Single-family houses are popping up like mushrooms placed near big infrastructural links and shopping centers. The Baltimore-Towson metropolitan area has of 2005 2,655,675 residents, being the 19th largest in America (U.S. Census Bureau 2006A). This growth does not stop - Baltimore is only 45 minutes north of Washington DC by automobile; together they create the dynamic American metropolis, Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan Area of approximately 8.1 million residents being the 4th largest metropolitan region in the country (wikipedia 2008A). As the capital of the United States, Washington DC has in the recent years experienced a boom and Baltimore has been linked to this boom by its close location. Among others things, Baltimore's metropolitan area offers cheaper housing possibilities than Washington for the middle-class working in the capital.

**Economical Capital**

As mentioned above, the Baltimore Metropolitan Area is closely connected to Washington DC and benefits also economically and employment wise from this close relation; the Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan Area is leading in the field of biotechnology.

In relation to income the Baltimore-Towson Metro area is also a place for the middle-class, with the personal income per capita in 2002 in Baltimore- Towson Metro being $35,556 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006A)

### 3.0.2 Baltimore Inner-City

When you are driving from the hotel in the suburbs west of the city towards the harbor and the inner city, the opposites are striking. It is a city of dualism: on the one hand a growing metropolitan area, as described above and on the other a decaying city center, which will be described in the following. It becomes very clear - Baltimore is a doughnut city. On this journey you are met with contrasts, as you see urban growth and decline situated right next to each other, suggesting they can be linked in a complex interplay.

Looking at figure 46 one can see that the growth of the population is occurring outside the urban centre of Baltimore, whereas the city center has experienced a decline of -11, 5% since 1990. On the contrary, the Baltimore-Towson Metropolitan area has experienced a net gain in population of 4% from 2000-2005 (U.S. Census Bureau 2006A).
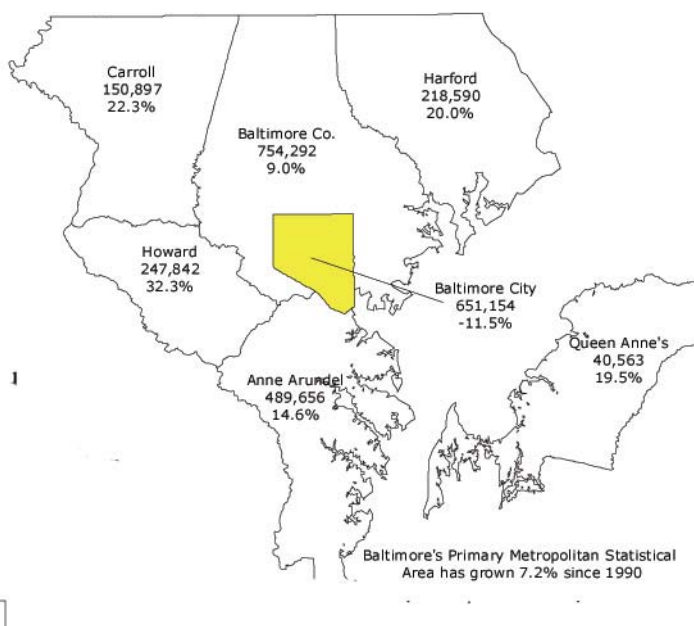


Fig.46: Population Growth in Baltimore's Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA). The population in Baltimore has been relocating to suburban areas at the expense of the urban core (BALTIMORE CITY DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING 2001).
Data Source: CENSUS NEWS 2000 MAYOR MARTIN O'MALLEY ISSUE ONE – POPULATION & RACE

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THE SURPLUS OF BUILT STRUCTURES
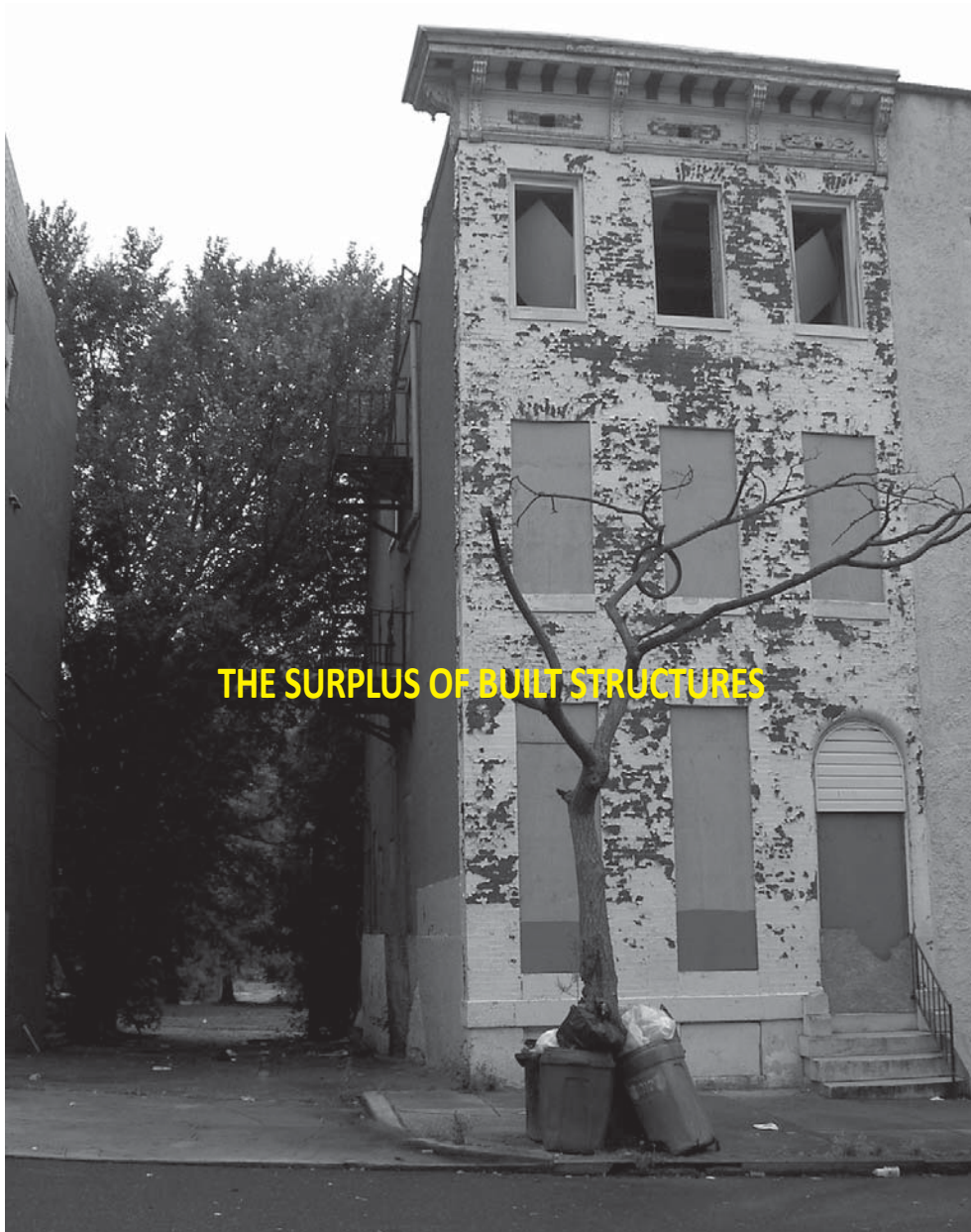
Fig. 47: The old working quarters of Baltimore is characterized by a huge amount of sur-
plus buildings (Photo: Lea  Holst Laursen)

Fig. 48: The section through the city from the hotel to the Inner Harbor, where the yellow is the declining area  (Photo:Google Earth, Image © 2008 Sanborn, Image U.S. Geological Survey © 2008 Tele Atlas)

Fig. 49: Positiv/negative map of the declining area (the area marked yellow on fig. 48). The map shows the fractured area with low density and where the traditional square of row houses are dissolved. Related to this map is a photo of high way to nowhere which runs through the area and a photo (Hette de Friis) showing the state of the built fabric (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

BALTIMORE
INNER HARBOR



135
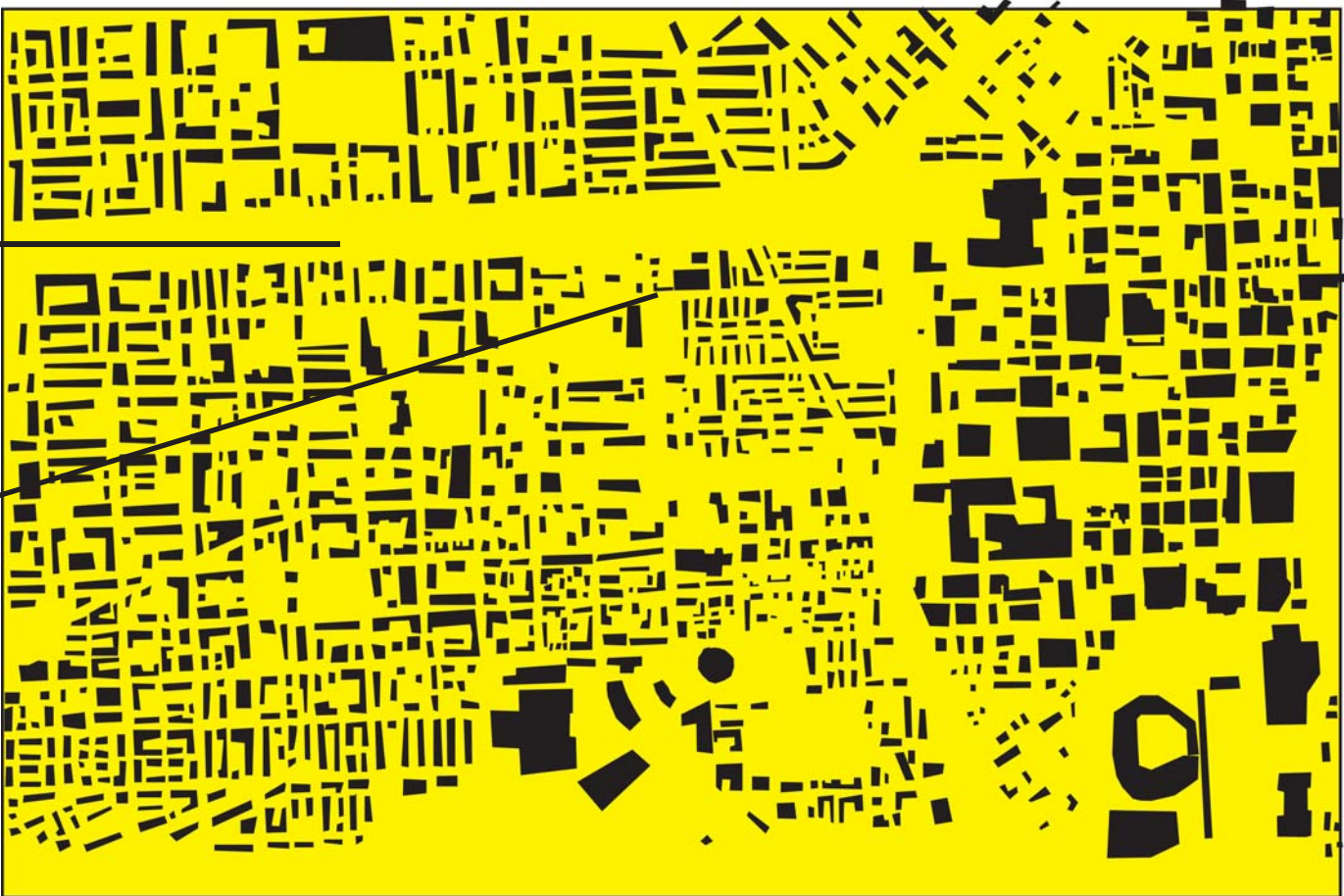
**Physical Capital – the Decay of a City**

The first miles' drive towards the city center is characterized by nice suburban residential areas with pretty front lawns and flowerbeds. After the Baltimore National Pike has changed name to Franklin Street, a completely new and devastating picture of decay and decline appears. Here the suburbs end and the old working-class neighborhoods begin. These homes were designed in accordance with styles preferred for the laboring class families of the mid-19th century. They consist of brick row houses joined side by side, enclosing a block square with a possible common central courtyard.

One of the neighborhoods we drive through is Harlem Park - a devastating area with decay and poverty. Just next to Harlem Park is what the locals call "highway to nowhere"! This is a short piece of highway with no destination, apart from being a few miles long. This is a relic of a once used strategy to revitalize the city by constructing highways to and from the city, but it was never finished and today it is only used by few cars. So the only thing this highway does is separating the neighborhood into two parts, like a huge wound.

Harlem Park is an example of what David Harvey[23] (2000) in his book "Spaces of Hope" describes as a mess - a mess that is very difficult to do something about.

*"But Baltimore is, for the most part, a mess. Not the kind of enchanting mess that makes cities such interesting places to explore, but an awful mess. And it seems much worse now than when I first knew it in 1969. Or perhaps it is in the same old mess except that many then believed they could do something about it. Now the problems seem intractable".* (Harvey 2000: 133).

There are many neighborhoods like Harlem Park throughout Baltimore City, all with the same characteristics. These neighborhoods can in many ways be seen as superfluous – only occupied by people who can not afford to move out – this is a devastating reality. The community has crumbled into ruins and the atmosphere ouches of decay, emptiness and social distress – whole streets are abandoned and frequently houses are demolished, burned down or simply falling apart. Windows have been fenced, people have left the area and the neighborhood has large empty pockets in the urban fabric. The landscape has in many ways taken over thus becoming a frequent structure in a city that used to be characterized by high density of built structures.

Different data are available regarding the number of houses or housing units that are vacant within the city of Baltimore. In 2000 the Parks & People Foundation registered at least 12,000 vacant houses and 14,000 vacant lots (Parks & People 2000; 9). Additionally, in 2006 the US census Bureau counted 58,306 vacant housing units corresponding to 19,7% of the total housing units which is vacant (US Census Bureau 2006C). And finally, during a conversation with East Baltimore Development Inc.'s chief of real estate officer Christopher Shea (April 16th 2007) I learnt that some neighborhoods experience up to 70% vacancy. These empty and abandoned buildings and structures are the most obvious indication of the state these neighborhoods are in. And as Harvey points out in his essay, it is difficult to leave much hope for a brighter future for the city of Baltimore.

Fig. 50: The highway to nowhere is a huge infrastructural construction without much purpose other than dividing the community of Harlem Park into two parts (Photo: Iben Schrøder)
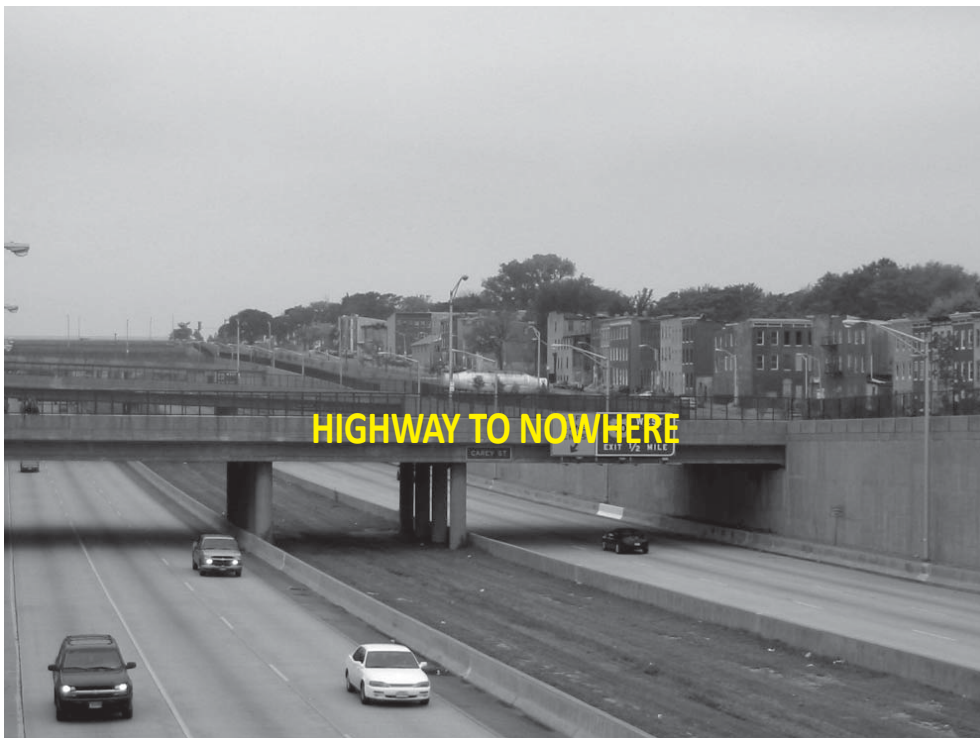
**PHYSICAL DECINE - IN 2000 BALTIMORE HAD 14.000 VACANT LOTS AND 12.000 VACANT BUILDINGS**

(Parks & People, 2000)
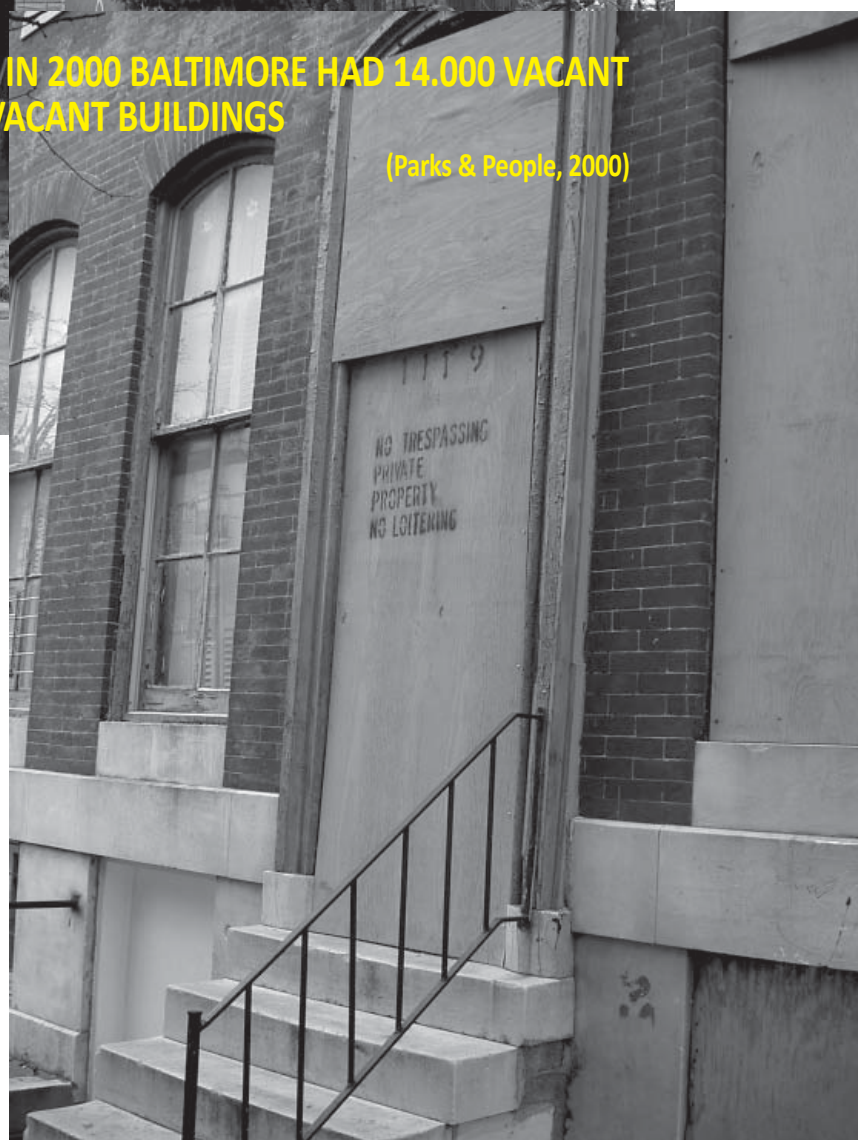
Fig. 51 and 52:The decay, abandonment and decline is striking (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

# THE  PREVAILING ROLE OF THE LANDSCAPE

Fig.53, 54, 55,56 and 57:
The landscape is taking over
in the city and becomes the
prevailing structure (Photo:
Lea Holst Laursen)

**BACK SIDE**

**FRONT SIDE**

Fig. 58 and 59: The distinction between backside and frontside is faiding out - were everything is declining (Photo: Iben Schrøder and Lea Holst Laursen)

**DECAY IN INFRASTRUCTURE**

Fig. 60 and 61: East Baltimore Development Inc.'s chief of real estate officer Christopher Shea says that the infrastructure both visible but also under ground are in such a bad state that a renewal of Baltimore City is a very costly affair - which according to him makes it impossible to renew the entire city (April 16th 2007) (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

**SOCIAL AND HUMAN DECLINE**
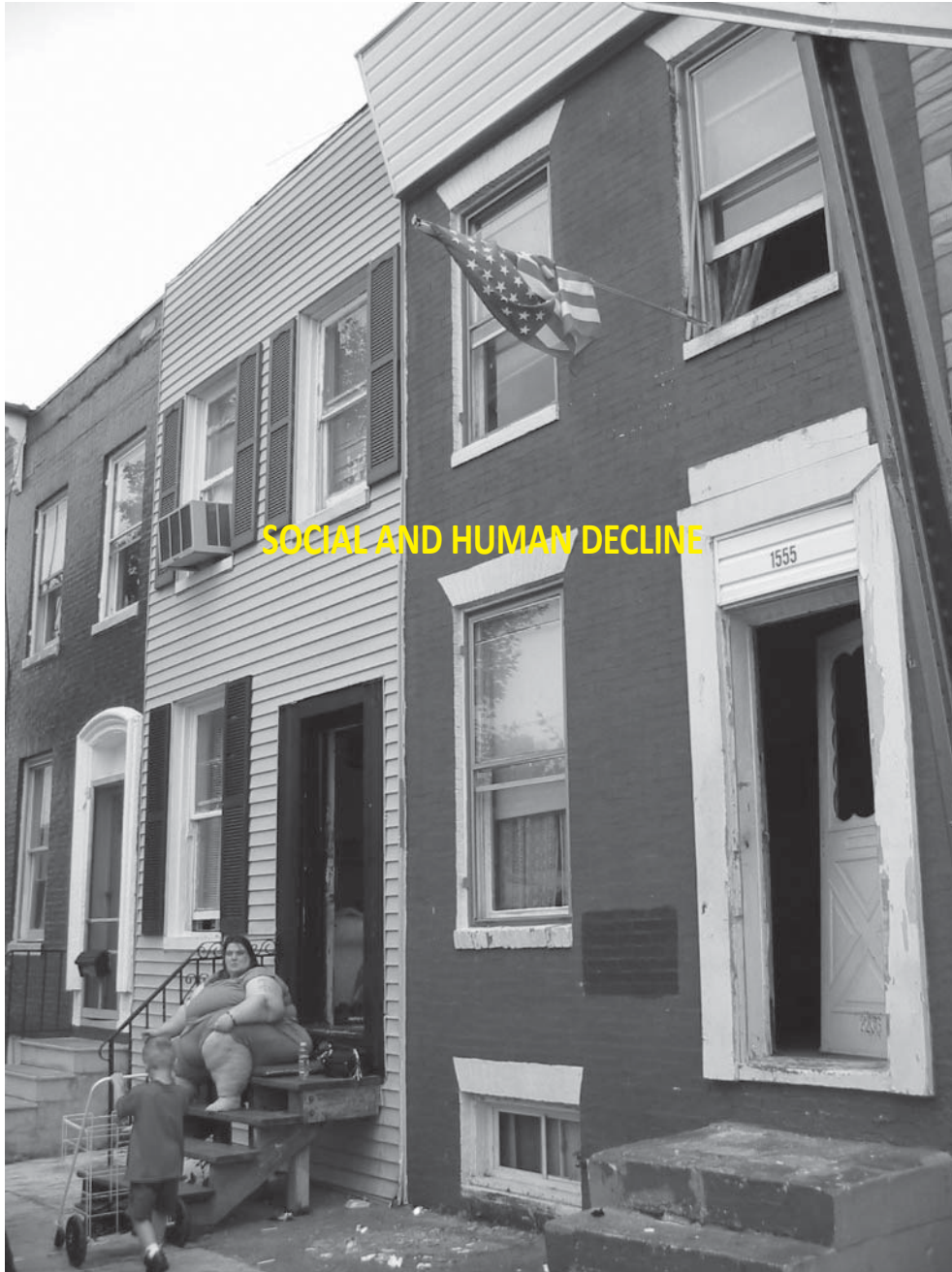
Fig. 62:The people living in these declining areas are the ones with the fewest resources and they are trapped, without any chances to move away (Photo: Iben Schrøder)

**Socio-cultural Capital – the Decline of a society**

These territories of Baltimore are also affected socially and culturally, with issues like drug-problems, poorer schools and institutions etc. tearing the community apart. Poverty, low income, low educational level, high crime rate, high unemployment and many elderly are all factors adding to the general level of social despair.

The falling tax base results in a slow emaciation of the institutions, schools and cultural activities in the city, while the retrogressions of local public facilities affect the people left behind. The crime rate in Baltimore is alarmingly high and Baltimore is ranked the 2nd most dangerous American city, with the crime situation in Baltimore being considered one of the worst in America (Morgan Quitno 2008). Furthermore, in the 1990s the City of Baltimore was the city with the largest number of drug addicts in the US; however, this trend is reversing due to massive drug treatment offers (City of Baltimore, Department of Planning 2006: 48)



**In 2006 in Baltimore City 64, 4% or 406,491 people are African-American and only 30,9% is white**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006B)**

**In Baltimore City in 2006  19, 5% of all individuals lived under poverty level**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006B)**

Fig. 63 and 64: People living coping with decline (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen
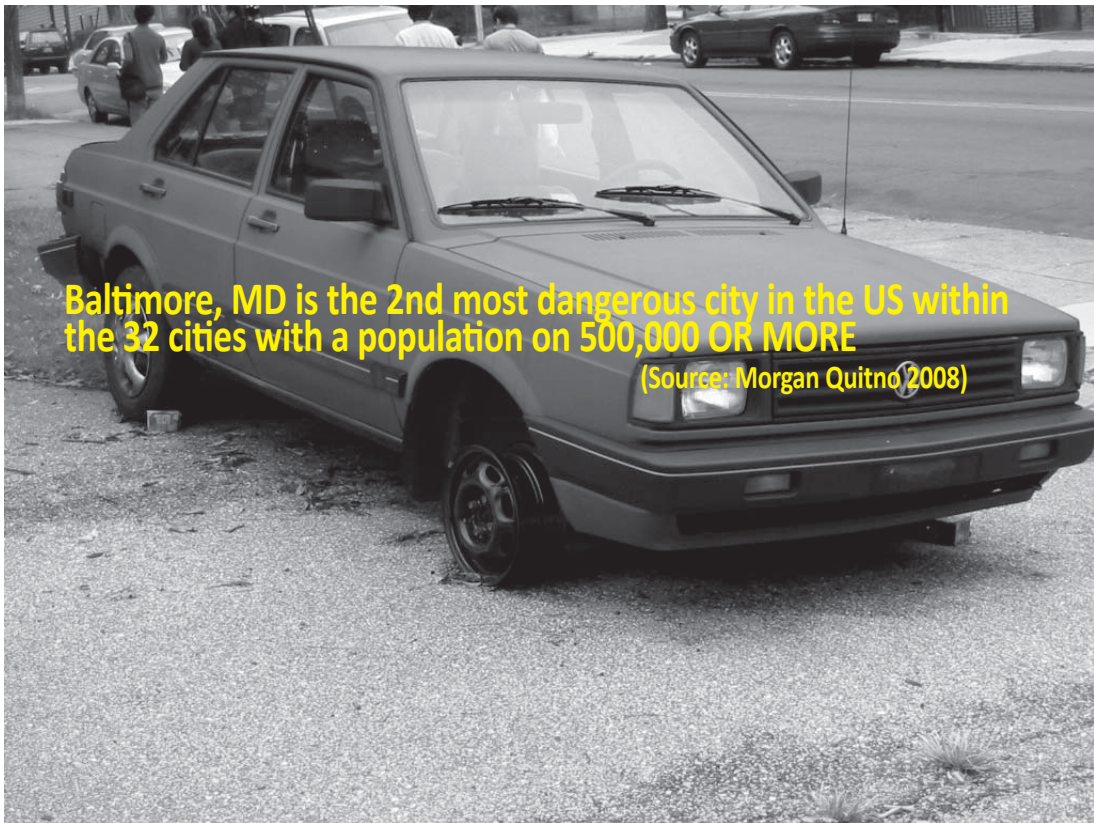
Fig. 65: The crime rate in Baltimore is very high (Photo: Iben Schrøder)

**Orgware – Demographical Decline**

Thus, as part of a growing metropolitan area, the inner city in Baltimore has been struggling with decline due to the processes of suburbanization and de-industrialization since World War II. Demographically, Baltimore City appears in stark contrast to the metropolitan area. Whereas the metropolitan areas experience growth, the City has been experiencing decline since the 1950s. In the late 1950s the population of Baltimore City peaked, being the sixth-largest city in the country with a population of 939,024 people in 1960 (Info please 2008). Today the City has lost almost one-third of its population with only 631,366 residents in 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau 2006B). However, this is a small gain after the lower figure in 2000.

These declining areas might be considered enclaves for "losers": people without education, money, heath insurance etc. A majority of Afro-Americans is living in these areas, as figures from 2006 show: 64, 4% of the population in Baltimore City was African-American and only 30, 9% white (U.S. Census Bureau 2006). This stands in direct contrast to the picture in the Metropolitan Area where whites are in majority. Since the 1950s there has been a shift in population in Baltimore City with whites having left and blacks moving in. But in the 1990s blacks also began leaving the city center (City of Baltimore, Department of Planning 2006: 54)

**In the late 1950s the population in Baltimore City was 950,000**

**(Source: Parks & People, 2000)**

**In 2000 the population was 651,154 people**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2008)**

**In 2006 the in Baltimore City population was 631,366 people**

**(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006B)**

**In the period 1980 to 2000 the population change in city of Baltimore was on -17,2%**

**(Source: City of Baltimore, Department of Planning 2006: 48)**

**Economical Capital**

The median income per capita is with $20,791 (U.S. Census Bureau 2006B) generally lower than in the surrounding suburbs, which is reinforced by the fact that more affluent households move to the suburbs (City of Baltimore, Department of Planning 2006:54). This means that the people who mainly live in the city are those with fewest resources and without the means to change their situation. This is indicated by the fact that in 2006 19, 5% of all individuals in Baltimore City were living below poverty level (U.S. Census Bureau 2006B).

Fig. 66, 67 and 68: Huge empty manufacturing buildings tell the story of a previous industrial city. Further the income per capita in Baltimore City is very low comparred with the suburbs, with only $20,791 per capita in 2006 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006B)
(Photo: Lea Holst Laursen and Iben Schrøder)

**DE INDUSTRIALIZATION**

**A Nuanced Picture of Growth and Decline**

Even though the German Shrinking Cities project denoted Baltimore a shrinking city, the picture of Baltimore City is not that unambiguous regarding decline. As seen in the above, growth and decline are present in growing Metropolitan Areas and a Declining city center. However, there are also enclaves within this overall decaying city center that are well functioning and which might even be considered growing. These are different institutions, businesses and tourist attractions situated right next to declining neighborhoods. Nevertheless, these well functioning areas are not used by the neighboring residents, but by people from the suburbs driving into work or tourists driving in for a visit.

A famous example of this is the John Hopkins Hospital and University. The John Hopkins Hospital is regarded as an important place of medical knowledge and is maybe the most famous business in Baltimore. The John Hopkins hospital is placed just east of the inner harbor, in close proximity to a very troublesome area, with high vacancy, crime etc. In order go to John Hopkins you drive right through it and the contrasts between the hospital and its surroundings are enormous. The people living there do not have a chance to get admitted to the John Hopkins Hospital, on less they mop floors (Harvey 2000) and the hospital has no links with the area.

Another example of a well functioning enclave is the University of Maryland, which is situated just south of the previously mentioned Harlem Park. The university is expanding and has the potential to attract people and capital.



Fig. 69:The University of Maryland - a growing enclave in the city of Baltimore (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

A final example of a well-functioning enclave appears right in front of us as we are driving further towards the city center, while entering the inner harbor area. This is maybe the most extensive and famous place because it has been severely transformed in recent years. Previously, the harbor area was the center for the manufacturing industries, but in the 1980s when all the industry had gone, the harbor was revitalized as an attempt to adapt to the knowledge and service economy. The Inner Harbor is placed adjacent to the Chesapeake Bay and as a result of its transformation, it has become a leisure and tourist centre with landmarks, restaurants, sports stadiums and leisure activity (to read more about the Inner Harbor see part V Interventions).

In many ways the harbor can be said to be a picture of the transformation Baltimore is undergoing and also of the gentrification process which interventions against urban decline often bring about. In the late 1950s the harbor was the center of a successful industrial city, with people working in industries like steel processing, shipping, auto manufacturing and transportation. Today, Baltimore can be considered a former industrial city, and in order to stop this development the harbor front changed its image. But even though the inner harbor has been revitalized, it does not seem to be able to carry the load and the city is still struggling. It does not look as though the harbor front will be able to lift the development, as there are already empty office spaces appearing above the first floor.



Fig. 70: The Inner Harbor has been revitalized from being a manufacturing harbor to a place for leisure and offices. The Inner Harbor is considered a very well-functioning enclave in the city, but the decline is nearby, where large parts of the high rise building to the left just by the water is empty. (Photo: Lea holst Laursen)

GROWTH RIGHT
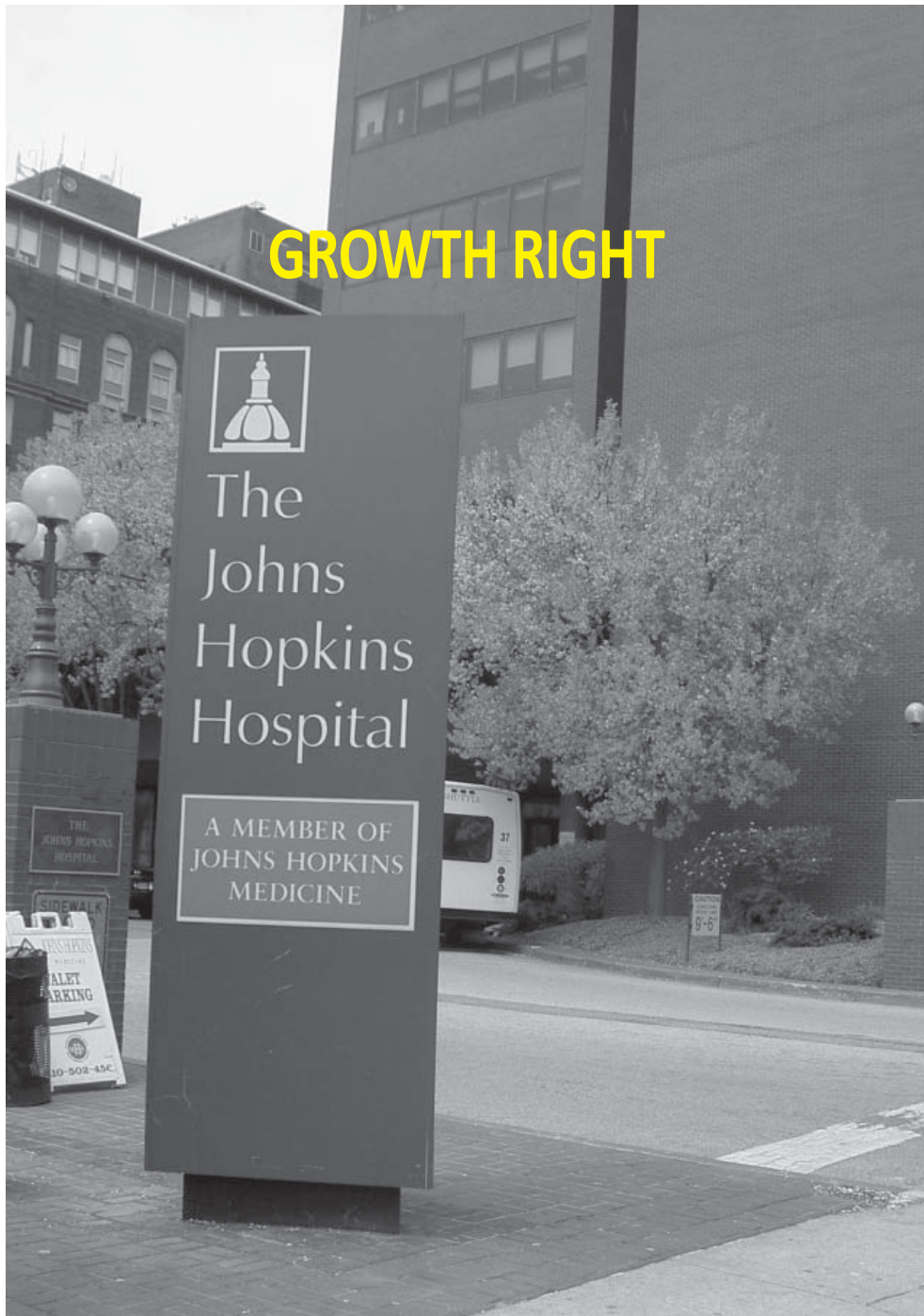
Fig. 71 and 72: The world famous hospital Johns Hopkins is situated just next to a huge declining area (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

NEXT TO DECLINE
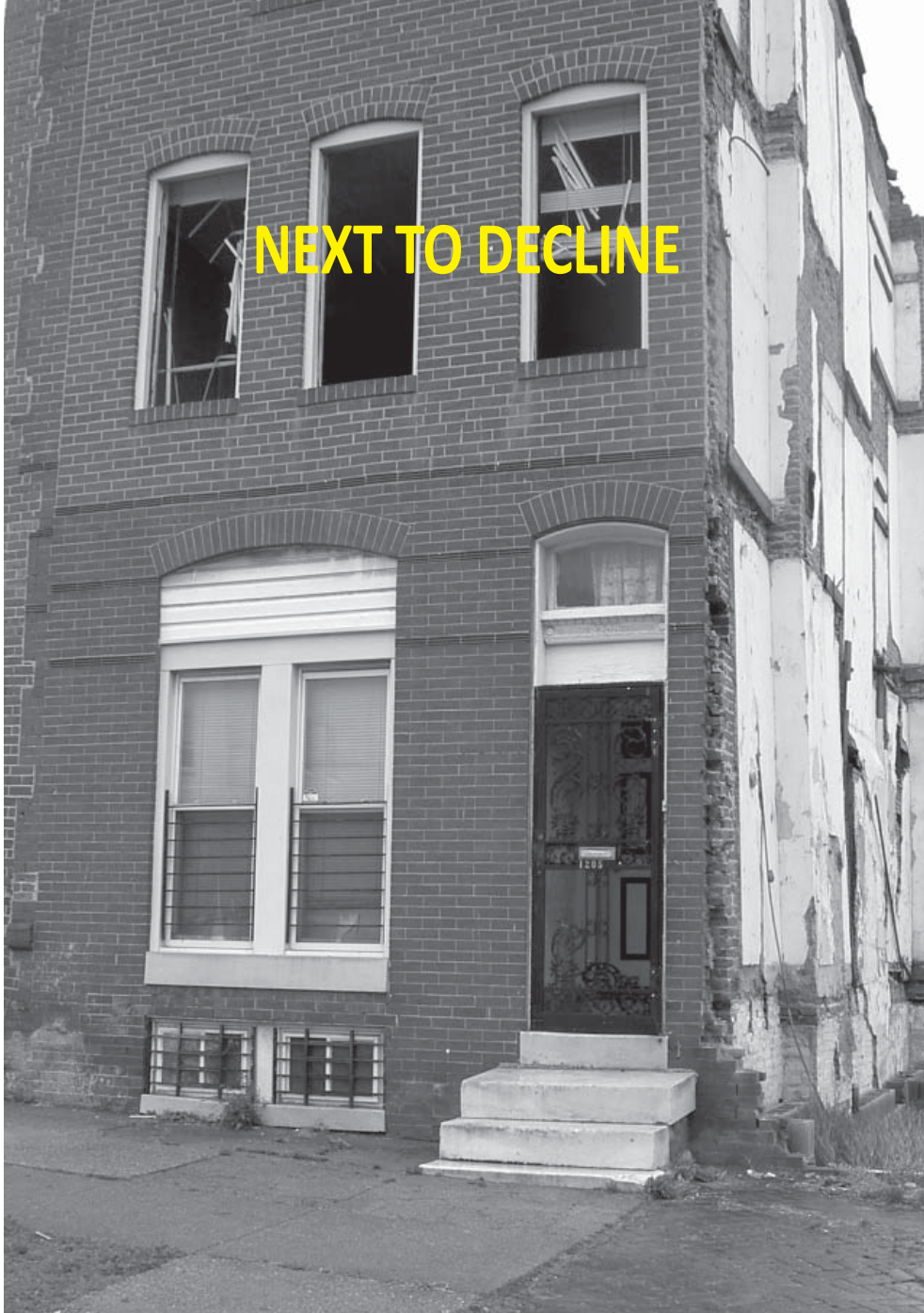
## 3.1 THE STORY OF DENMARK [24]

The Danish territory differs from other European and American countries. It is a small country of 26777 square miles containing only 5.335.000 residents. Only five Danish cities have more than 100.000 inhabitants, while many areas are sparsely populated and dominated by smaller towns and villages.

In addition, Denmark has a very different history of urbanization than America and other European countries such as Germany and Great Britain, where urbanization was closely related to industrialization. Many of the large cities in America, Germany and Great Britain were founded in connection with construction of industrial production sites in the 19th century. Just look at the American Rust Belt cities, the German Ruhr Gebiet and the industrial cities of north England, like Manchester and Liverpool, among others. These areas have grown on the basis of huge manufacturing and production sites. Denmark, on the contrary, has never been a heavily industrialized country, which means that until the 1960s Denmark did not experience the same boom in the manufacturing production as much as other countries (Christoffersen 1978). The Danish economy traditionally relied on agriculture and trade which is reflected in the physical organization of the territory. However, in the 1960s the industrial production superseded the agricultural production in Denmark (Christoffersen 1978) and today Denmark might best be described as a country of industry and know-how.

Denmark's urbanization is to a large extent the product of post-war Welfare State Urbanism that strived to establish equal access to public institutions and welfare throughout the country (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Advantaged by its small overall size, the Danish territory can therefore today be considered as one highly urbanized territory in terms of access to public institutions and urban lifestyle (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). At the same time, large parts of the territory physically maintain a "rural" character and have in the past been bound to agricultural production (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Traditionally, urbanity is seen linked to the geographical unit of the city and is consequently depending on the respective definition of the city. Interestingly, most of the Danish settlements are thus considered "rural" by European standards. By Danish standards though, most settlements are considered "urban". (Statistics Denmark defines a town as a continuous settlement with at least 200 inhabitants and in which the distance between buildings does not exceed 200 m; public institutions, parks, cemeteries etc. are discounted.) However, considering the way the Danish territory is organized and used today, a concept of urbanity based upon accessibility of public institutions and urban lifestyle seems more

adequate and more productive (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). This leads to consider Denmark as one united urban territory containing larger urban areas and more rural areas with smaller cities.

**3.1. 0 Development Trends in the Danish Territory – Growth and Decline**
At first sight, the story of Denmark is about growth and development. Denmark is one of the countries with the highest social equality and it is praised for its "flexicurity" job market. The Danish state is debt-free, and the national economy has been on the upswing for several years now, resulting in a very low unemployment rate which, not least, is fuelled by a massive building boom[25] (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). It is a country of prosperity and at first sight it is not at all obvious to investigate spatial polarization and especially urban shrinkage in Denmark.

When driving down the motorway E45 though Jutland in the direction of Germany from Aalborg[26] to Kolding, the upswing condition is evident. Along the motorway with easy access to the rest of Denmark businesses are developing, e.g. one of Denmark's most successful enterprises Vestas, the windmill factory which is leading in its field worldwide, is situated in the city of Randers along the motorway. But not

Fig. 73: New office headquarters pup up like mushrooms in the northern part of Aarhus indicating a growing region (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

only established businesses are situated along the motorway, new business also shoot up and huge advertising signs are placed to advertise land lots for sale. Newly built residential areas also pop up near the motorway, on land lots which were previously agricultural land but which have now  been transformed into business lots or suburban residential areas.

The main center of attention along this route is the city of Aarhus - the largest city in Jutland which is booming here. If we for a short moment leave the motorway and turn off at exit 46 Aarhus North, what meets you is the construction of a huge new infrastructure system. This infrastructural system has to service the increasing amount of both residents and businesses. The area around Randers vej, the road from the city center to the motorway exit 46, has developed in recent years and the city has expanded drastically. Different businesses have built new prestigious headquarters and new residential areas have been planned. The residential area Lisbjerg is under construction and is planned to be developed into an area with room for 10-20.000 residents, in the coming years.

Fig. 74 and 75: The growing eastern Denmark exemplified in the new construction of a motorway north Aarhus (below) and the decline of the Danish periphery exemplified in Thisted Municipality



GROWTH IN EAST

But not all areas in Denmark are connected to this urban growth, and the story of Denmark is not only about growth but also one of uneven development, as this united urban territory does not develop in a homogenous way. The recent Danish economic growth is unequally allocated with significant effects on population (fig.77) and urban growth development.

If instead of driving south from Aalborg, we drive west in the direction of the municipality of Thisted on the main road 11, we are about to experience a whole different picture. We are traveling in the region of North Jutland – the smallest of the five Danish regions and also the region with the highest unemployment (5, 2% in 2. quarter of 2007 (Danish Regions 2008) and the worst population projection (-1% in the period 2007-2040 2007 (Danish Regions 2008). Out of Aalborg, which is the principal capital of the region, we are entering a rural setting with small provincial towns, and as we go further west we eventually enter some of Denmark's outskirt areas.

The picture appearing in these outskirt areas in the region of Northern Jutland is the same as in many other places in Denmark. Here, there is no booming development; on the contrary it is about keeping the work-places already existing in the
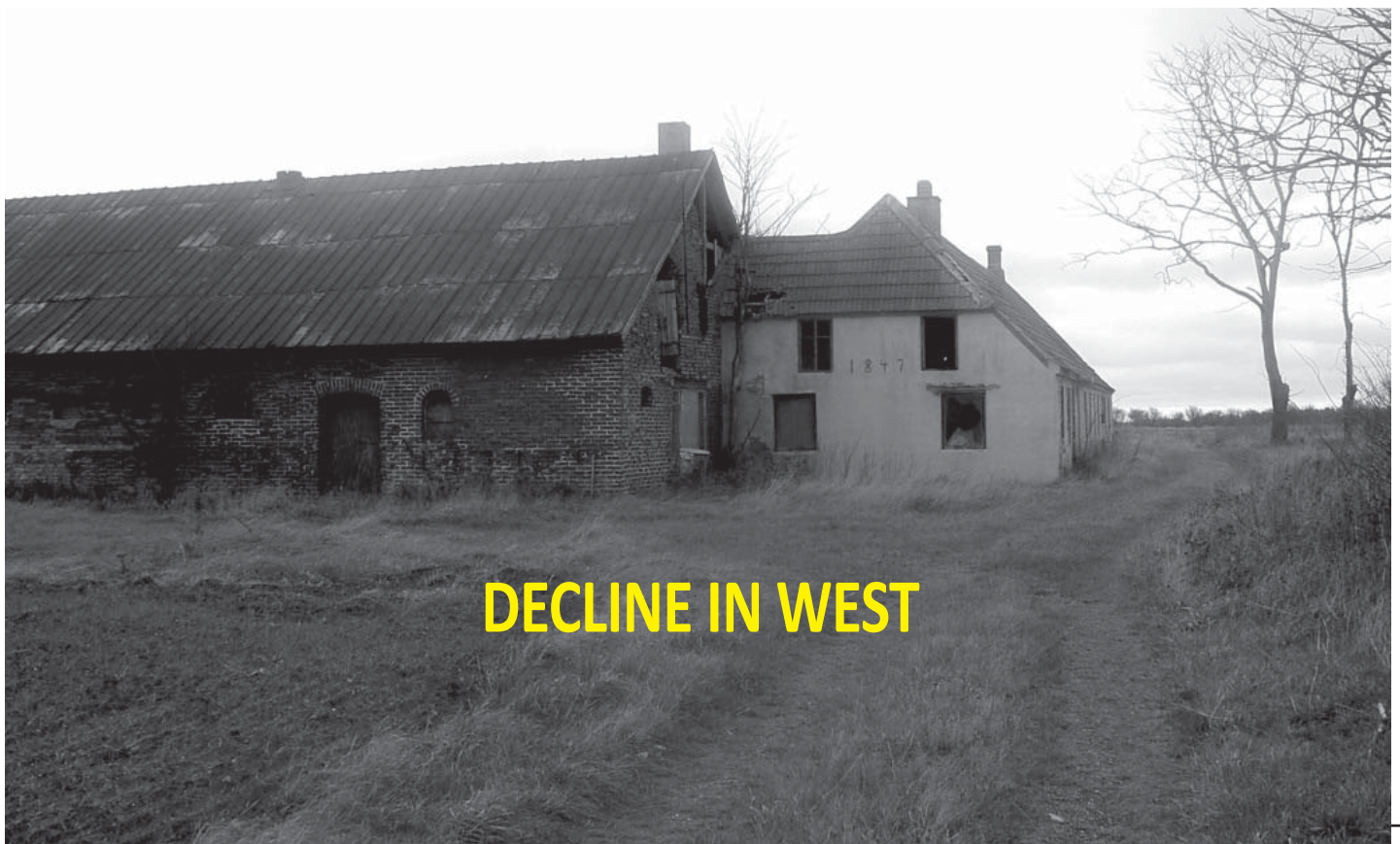


DECLINE IN WEST

region. Furthermore, the outskirt areas are struggling with the exodus of the young people, the fall in employment in the primary businesses and in the closure of factories.  This results in an increasing, elderly population which will be even more pronounced in the years to come. Here houses decay, the local grocery has closed down and the local school is struggling to survive.
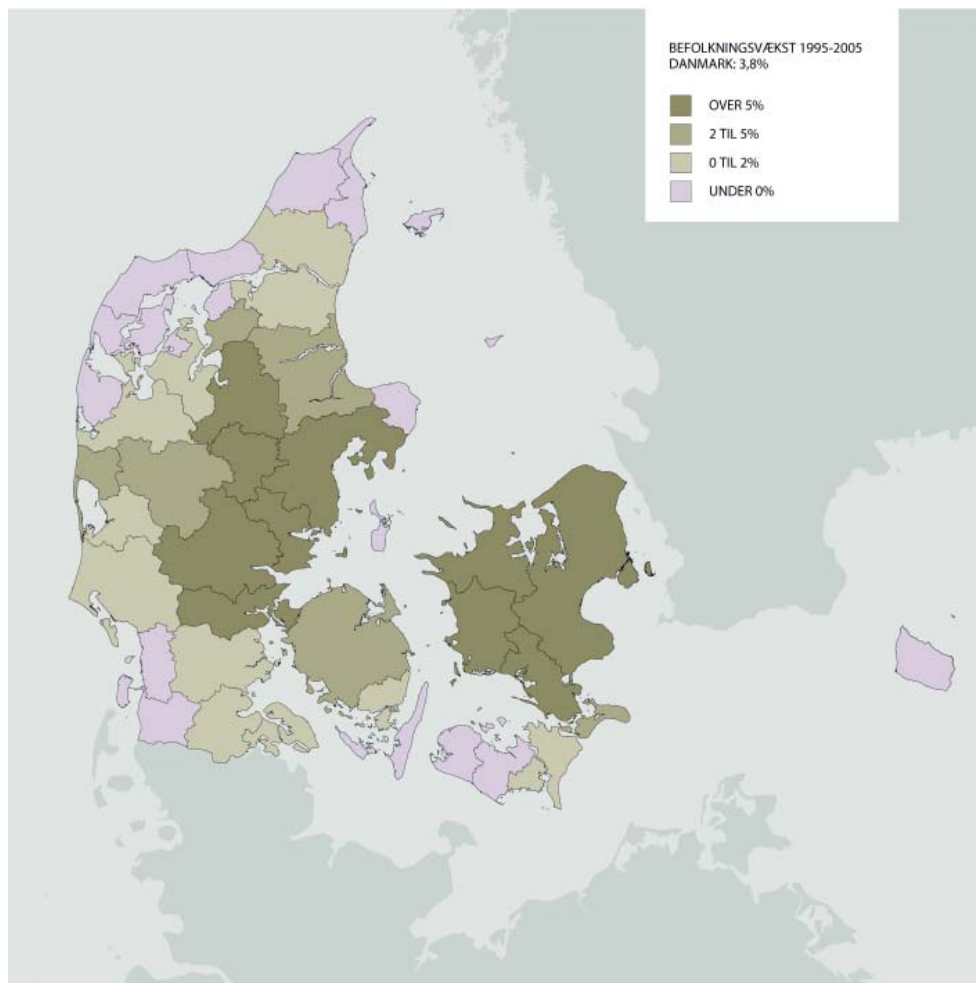


Fig. 76: Population Growth in Denmark according to commuter areas, 1995-2005. White areas are the areas which have been stagnating or shrinking in this period and largely correspond to what we call "outskirts" in this paper. (National Planning Report 2006 [Danish Ministry of the Environment])

**The H-City and the Rotten Banana**

As described above, one can say that overall the Danish territory is divided into two parts; the eastern part of Denmark which has always been the most urban part of the country and which in these years is experiencing an increased urbanization, and a western part which has always had a more rural character and which now is experiencing a decline in population. This is exemplified in the cases of Aarhus and Thisted Municipality. The densely populated Aarhus area in central Denmark is fast



Fig. 77: The Danish "H-City" (Transform arkitekter)

growing and increasingly adopting a "metropolitan" character, whereas the largely rural and geographically more remote Thisted Municipality in the North western part of Jutland has been distinctively declining in population. These two development directions are coined in the two urban scenarios of the H-City and the rotten banana where the two metaphors tell the story in a simple way.
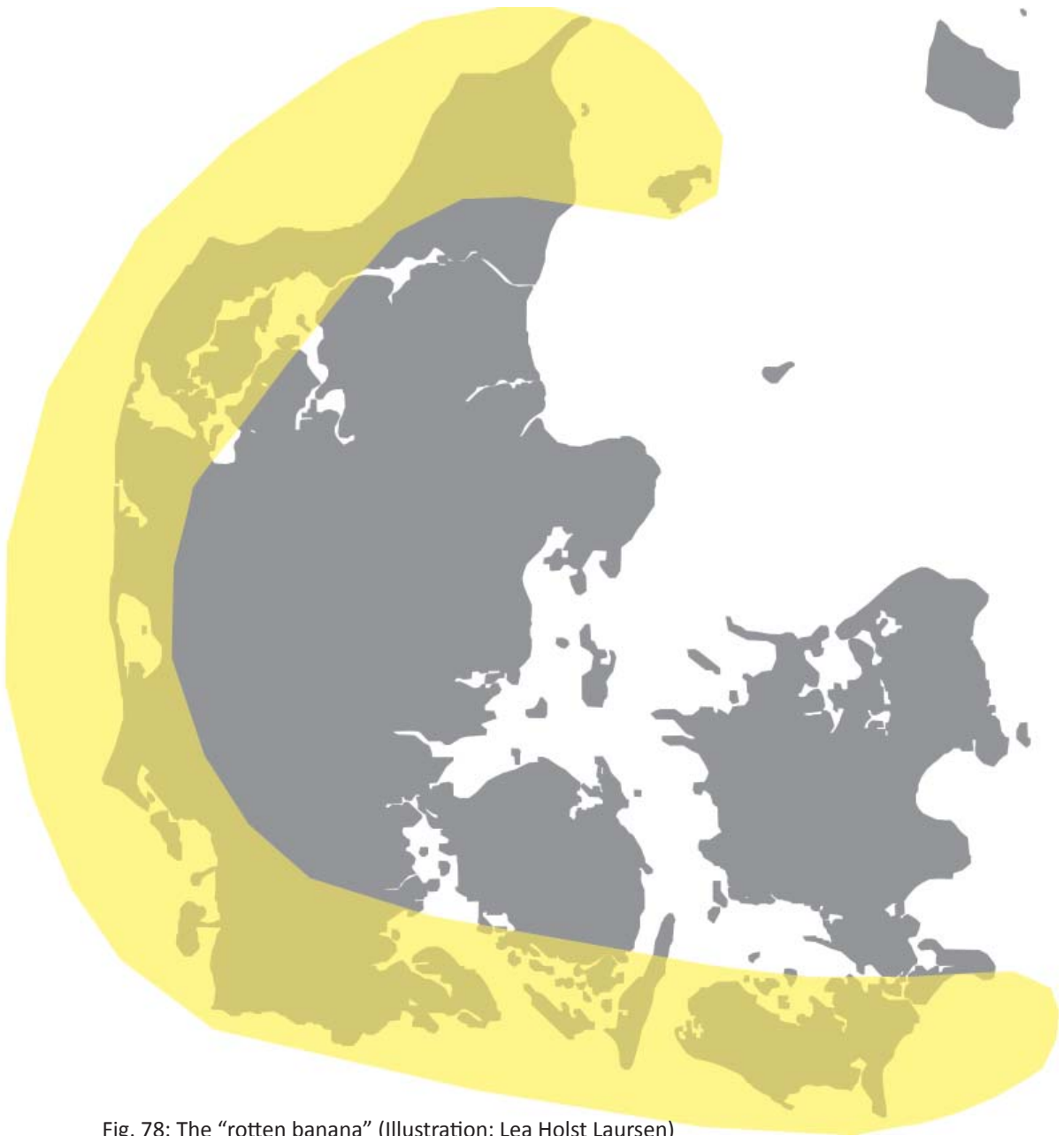


Fig. 78: The "rotten banana" (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

Today, two thirds of the Danish population live in a 10 km belt along the national motorway system, which is also called "H-City", due to its shape (figure 78)[27]. The continuously growing H-City links and contains the five largest cities in Denmark. Unequal population growth, an increasingly unequal development of the national housing market, as well as changes in mobility behavior since the 1980s, consistently indicate an urban concentration process in the economic growth regions on Zealand and East Jutland (Tietjen 2006). The H-City is thereby describing the increasingly urbanized areas in Denmark; areas where the development, the house prices and the business market have an upward tendency. This development of creating a dynamic, growing Eastern Denmark has been planned and especially the growth of Copenhagen has been planned since the 1990s. Here massive investments were put into Copenhagen in order to ensure Copenhagen's position as a strong and competitive capital with the ability to attract companies, jobs and citizens in a global competition.

Correspondingly a de-concentration process occurs in the geographic outskirts[28] of the national territory from Lolland-Falster over South Funen and West Jutland to North Jutland. With reference to the famous European growth model of the "blue banana", these declining areas have been dubbed "the rotten banana", covering about one fifth of the Danish territory, but only 7% of the population (Hedegård 2007) (figure 79)[29]. Here the population and the job market are declining and houses are vacant and in decay.

**Causes for Development**
This spatial polarization in Denmark is linked to a number of social, cultural and physical development tendencies – such as the global integration of financial, telecommunication and job markets, increasing individualization and mobility and not least a general trend towards urbanization – which are the same or similar to what is happening in many other countries all over the world. Finally, the spatial polarization in Denmark is strongly connected to the changing relationships between the rural and the urban realm (Tietjen and Laursen, 2008).

Structural changes in the primary and secondary economic sectors as well as the shift to businesses depending on knowledge and information are important factors in this re-territorialization process (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). "In Denmark [....] the new economic conditions as well as the general direction of economic policies seem to disfavor the peripheries because they do not possess either the "infrastructure"

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or the human resources needed to support a knowledge driven economic develop-
ment" (Hansen & Smidt-Jensen 2004: 23). Agriculture and fishing industry as well
as small and medium scale industrial production which are traditionally strong in
the declining areas offer less job opportunities[30], while knowledge based jobs are
concentrated in the bigger cities.

Structural changes in agriculture have far reaching consequences for the physical
transformation of the territory (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Large scale industrial
production units supersede outdated historical buildings which are often left to der-
eliction. Today, approx. 60 mil $M^2$ redundant farm buildings exist in Denmark (Ny
Thisted & Realdania 2007: 62). In addition, an estimated number of 30.000 residenc-
es will have to be demolished in rural districts over the next ten years (Miljøminis-
teriet 2003). Especially in declining peripheral areas the number of abandoned and
decaying buildings will increase strongly over the next years.

With the progressive industrialization of agricultural production and the 'up scaling'
of production units over the last 50 years, farming (Danish: landbrug) and village
(Danish: landsby) have become almost completely disengaged (Tietjen and Laursen
2008). As the Danish researcher Jørgen Møller observes, former, rural settlements
have today basically the same functions and often a similar appearance as suburban
settlements (Møller 2007). This is often the fate for villages placed near larger cities,
even though not all former villages are geared for this transformation. The risk of
negative population development is high if a village does not have access to public
institutions and urban infrastructure or features outstanding attractions and scenic
landscapes.

Population decline in the "rotten banana" occurs primarily due to the exodus of the
young and skilled people seeking education and better job opportunities (Tietjen
and Laursen 2008). In an analysis of regional growth potential from 2006 Jyske Bank
points out that this development is likely to lead to increased economic decline,
which then again will reinforce population decline and thus create a negative de-
velopment spiral (Jyske Bank 2006). Long-range prognoses predict that the nega-
tive development in the Danish geographic outskirts has not yet peaked. On the
contrary, there are clear indications of further demographic decline in these areas,
leaving primarily the elderly part of the population behind. The latest population
projection from Statistics Denmark shows that 35 municipalities will experience a
drop in the number of inhabitants in the next decades. Already sparsely populated

remote areas, e.g. Ærø, Læsø and Lemvig, are expected to decline in population by 10% until 2040 (Statistics Denmark 2008B). On the contrary, 65 municipalities will grow, particularly municipalities like Skanderborg, Horsens, Odder and Silkeborg in the eastern part of Jutland (Statistics Denmark 2008B). At the same time, the Danish population as a whole will both be declining and aging due to the birth rate being significantly lower than the death rate and to increased life time expectancy. Together with the individual migration tendencies of the "young and skilled" towards the bigger cities, the predicted demographic development will result in an increasing concentration of the elderly population in the geographic outskirt areas.

Furthermore, this polarization appears in Denmark even though urbanism in Denmark has been largely connected with the construction of the Danish welfare state in the aftermath of World War II[31], aiming at equal distribution of national economic growth. Territorial equity in the sense of equal living conditions everywhere became both the aim and the norm for urban planning and design. These welfare ideals of equity can also have had the effect that the Danish spatial polarization is much less drastic than that in other countries, such as East Germany and Great Britain. Although territorial equity and spatial equalization still are ethical ideals in the Danish planner community, this concept of welfare state urbanism has been under pressure for several decades now (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

From what is outlined above, it becomes clear that the phenomenon of territorial decline in Denmark is strongly connected to the structural changes entering what used to be "the rural world" (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). For the last 60 years spatial planning reclaimed the Danish territory from an essentially urban perspective that prioritized the development of towns and cities, whereas the agricultural landscape and rural lifestyle were rather perceived as objects for preservation[32]. The final cornerstone of these politics was the town and country planning act (Dan.: By- og landzoneloven) which divided Denmark into urban and country zones to restrict urban sprawl, protect agricultural production and not least to preserve traditional landscape structures (Tietjen and Laursen 2008)[33]. Parallel to this, the local government reform of 1970 administratively separated environmental and urban planning. Administration and planning of town zones became incumbent on the municipalities; country zones on the counties. There can be no doubt that these politics efficiently limited urban sprawl in Denmark (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). At the same time, however, the strictly separative policy and especially the division of planning authorities stood in the way for a holistic territorial planning approach (Tietjen and

Laursen 2008). Today, large parts of country zones in the declining territories are declining both physically and in population, whereas the agricultural landscape in growing territories is increasingly under pressure from urban development (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). However, today, a door seems to be opened towards a more holistic approach combining urban and rural areas. In 2007 an important local government reform was put into effect when the former 271 municipalities were merged
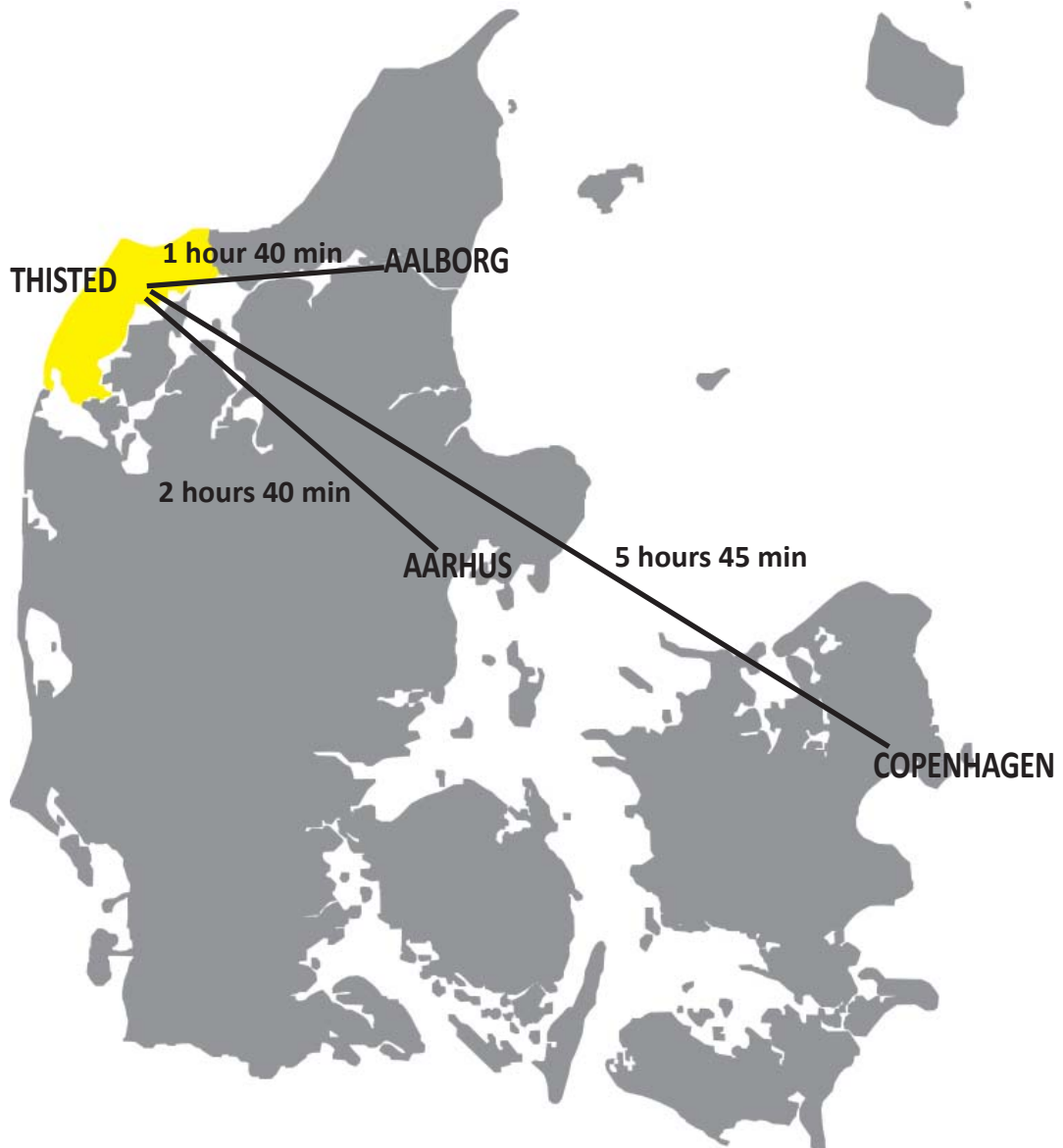


Fig. 79:The location of Thisted Municipality (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

to 98, the counties abolished and five new regions established. Thus, the planning system was significantly changed together with the reform. The division between environmental and urban planning was lifted. Country zones and town zones are now equally planned and administrated by the municipalities. For the first time since 1970 a comprehensive territorial approach at municipal scale is thus possible (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

### 3. 1.1 Declining Territories – the Example of Thisted Municipality

If we then return to the road the main road 11 ends in the municipality of Thisted. The municipality of Thisted can be denoted a shrinking territory with general decline in population and economy, according the German shrinking cities project. The municipality of Thisted is placed in the uttermost north-western part of Denmark, right on the fringe of the country– far away from the dynamic centers of Aarhus and Copenhagen. Here you are in an outskirt region and it is a long journey to get there from the growing eastern Jutland. There are no motorways but just main roads, and the trip from one of the nearest bigger cities like Aalborg, Holstebro or Viborg takes at least 1½ hour. There is, however, a small airport in Thisted or maybe more adequately just a landing strip. Previously, there were direct flights two times daily between Thisted and Copenhagen, but this connection has unfortunately closed down.

One of the overall assets in Thisted Municipality, just as in other outskirt areas, is scenic nature. Driving through the municipality of Thisted from Agger Tange in the south to Hanstholm in the north, one is struck by one of the conspicuous characteristics of the territory: harsh and scenic nature with coastal landscapes and green areas of woodland and agricultural fields. The prevailing western wind coming from the North Sea moulds the landscape and the people living there. In describing the municipality, the planning department (Thisted Municipality 2007) uses a triad division that indicates the diversity of the landscape: the North Sea landscape, the fjord landscape and the arable landscape. The coastline stretching from north to south is approximately 226 km long and the area is famous for its wind and shore conditions which some places are unique for windsurfing, giving these areas the name "Cold Hawaii". This costal and meadow landscape has also just been appointed Denmark's first national park (to read more see part V interventions).

Thus, the municipality of Thisted is an example of an outskirt area in Denmark and its situation is similar to other areas in the rotten banana both physically, socially, economically and demographically.

**Orgware**

The municipality, which covers the provinces THY and Hannæs, is one of Denmark's biggest in physical size with an area of 1.093 km2.  But it is certainly not the biggest regarding the number of inhabitants and besides, the municipality has general difficulties maintaining its inhabitants. The number of inhabitants was 46.908 in 2001 whereas the number of inhabitants in 2007 was only 45.580, indicating that  in only 7 years the municipality has lost 1328 inhabitants corresponding to 2,8% (Nøgletal 2008). Particularly the southern parts of the municipality (the former Sydthy municipality) are suffering from decline, as the number of inhabitants has decreased with almost 1000 people in the period 1990-2005 corresponding to a population decline of 8% (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006). The large area combined with a low number of inhabitants gives a sparsely populated territory  with the low density of only 42 inhabitant's pr. km2 (municipality of Thisted 2008). The tendency with a falling population is the same in the other places of the rotten banana, where these areas are abandoned due to an increasing urbanization in the eastern part of Denmark.  On a national average, the population has increased with approximately 5% in the period 1990-2005. This increase has not included the outskirt areas, on the contrary, the Danish outskirt areas have experienced a population decline of 15 000 inhabitants or 3, 7% from the mid-1990s until 2005 (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006: 34).

Of the municipality's approximately 46.000 inhabitants, 13.000 of them live in the principal town of Thisted and respectively about 2400 and 2700 in the two second largest towns Hanstholm and Hurup (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006). The remaining population lives in 22 smaller towns of 200 inhabitants or more, which is the line of demarcation between town and village, as previously mentioned, and in a number of villages. Demographically, there are different prospects for the various towns within this overall declining territory. A few are experiencing demographical growth, but the majority is facing demographical decline. The town of Thisted is actually growing, together four other smaller towns such as Klitmøller (the surfers' paradise), at the expense of the surrounding villages. This means that a reshuffling of the inhabitants is taking place inside the municipality, indicating that there is a dynamic interplay between an overall declining area and well-functioning enclaves.

## GROWTH AND DECLINE IN THISTED
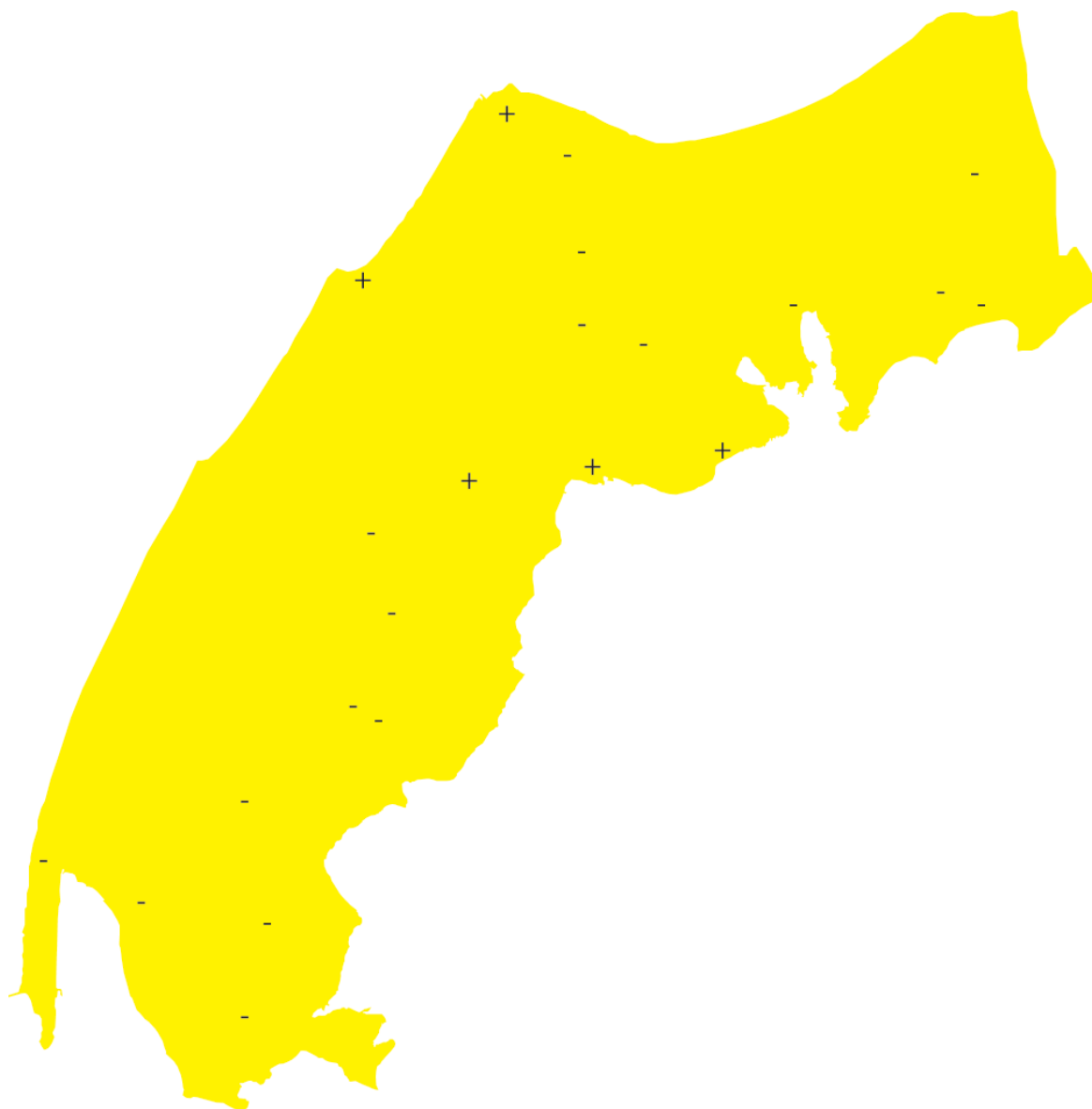


Fig. 80: The map shows towns in the municipality of Thisted with more than 200 inhabitants that are either growing or declining. Here it becomes evident that only five towns are growing and the rest are declining (see appendix A for a list of the development). There are, however, a large number of villages with less than 200 inhabitants that are not included in this map due to missing data (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

The distribution of age groups is a factor where Thisted Municipality and the rest of the outskirts are distinguishing themselves from the rest of the country. It is characteristic that the outskirts have significant less young people in the age group 18-29 years than the national average (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006). This is due to the fact that after finishing high school young relocate to the university cities, in order to get an education. The university cities tend to maintain the younger age groups after finished education. Finally, their number of elderly inhabitants is significantly higher than in the remaining country.

**Economical capital**
The geographical placing and the down-going population influence prices of houses, making Thisted a cheap place to settle down. In 2005 the price per square meter for single-family or row houses was 6.500 DKK which is very cheap in comparison with 11.250 DKK in Aalborg and 27.850 DKK in Copenhagen in the same period (municipality of Thisted 2008).

This corresponds to the fact that the income level in the outskirt areas is lower than the national average in general and that these differences are going to increase in the coming years (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006). Thus, in Thisted the inequalities are less than in other outskirt areas.

The occupation in the municipality of Thisted is mainly based on industry, commerce, public service and the primary businesses agriculture and fishery. Tourism is also a field of occupation in Thisted Municipality, but not to the same degree as in other Danish outskirt areas (conversation with Chief of planning Jens Bach, November 16th 2007). Tourism provides seasonal employment for people and often specific outskirt areas become very lively in summer but dead during winter. One aim is therefore to create more seasonally independent tourism. With this objective in mind, the Ministry of the Environment has signaled openness to investigate "other methods than the current administrative framework for managing the often fluid boundaries between year-round residences and summer cottages in existing urban zones".[34] (Tietjen and Laursen 2008)

Surprisingly, the unemployment rate in Thisted is only 1,3% in 2008 (Statistics Denmark 2008); this is below the  national average and can  be caused by two factors: a relatively high number of workplaces, mainly in manufacturing jobs, and  also that the workforce needing jobs is declining (conversation with Chief of planning Jens Bach, November 16th 2007). Furthermore, business is going well in Thisted and Hanstholm. In Hanstholm Denmark's biggest harbor for edible fish is placed and there is also ferry services to Norway,  the Shetland Isles, the Faroe Islands and Iceland which has given Hanstholm the name "Port to the North Atlantic". Whereas the connection to the rest of Denmark is sparse, it only takes two hours to go to Norway. In Thisted, a number of big manufacturing industries are placed, such as Coloplast, Thisted Brewery and OTICON. However, the educational level is significantly lower than the national average; due to the fact that there are no places for higher education and also that the municipality of Thisted has difficulties in attracting well educated people, like many other outskirt areas.



Fig.81:Thisted Brewery on of the well-functioning businesses in thisted (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

**Physical capital – Scenic Nature and Declining Villages**

Physically, the dualism between growing and declining areas is also evident, with a huge difference in the physical appearance of respectively the growing and declining areas.

Especially the city of Thisted is well-functioning with a vibrant city life; this old market town is placed scenically, just north of the fjord, and the city center is characterized by dense medieval architecture with many architectonical qualities. A number of industries and a hospital are placed in the city of Thisted as well as educational institutions like a high school, a nursing school and University College North Jutland. In recent years the city of Thisted has undergone renewal in several places, as the city center has been architectonically and visually upgraded with restoration of the pedestrian street and several open spaces. In 2006 a new open space at the harbor front was inaugurated, designed by Birk-Nielsen Architects, and this has given new life to the harbor.



Fig. 81: The construction of a new center with shops and supermarket in the middle of Thisted indicates that the city of Thisted is growing (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

Fig. 82: Another indication of Thisteds development is the transformation of the old harbor by Birket-Smidt architect (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

But the condition of buildings in the municipality of Thisted is also characterized by decline in some places where villages and farms in the countryside are abandoned and decaying[35]. In general, about 5% of the total housing is vacant in Denmark. In the municipality of Thisted that number is about twice as much (Ny Thisted & Re-aldania 2006). This is mainly caused by the general shift from countryside living to life in the cities, where knowledge, innovation and capital are concentrated and by the restructuring in the agricultural business, where the act of making agricultural production more efficient has resulted in the abandonment of farmhouses. An example of a village facing abandonment and decay is Vestervig. Vestervig has from 1990 to 2008 lost 78 inhabitants corresponding to approximately 10%. Vestervig is placed in the southern part of the municipality, and its main street is characterized by houses for sale, even more have fenced windows and have fallen into disrepair. This devastating fate of Vestervig is occurring even though the town has significant, historical roots as an Episcopal- and convent-town.



Fig. 83 and 84: Empty houses in the Village of Vestervig, Thisted Municipality (Photo Lea Holst Laursen)

THE MAIN STREET - DECLINE AND ABANDONMENT

Sælges / Udlejes

Østergaard Service
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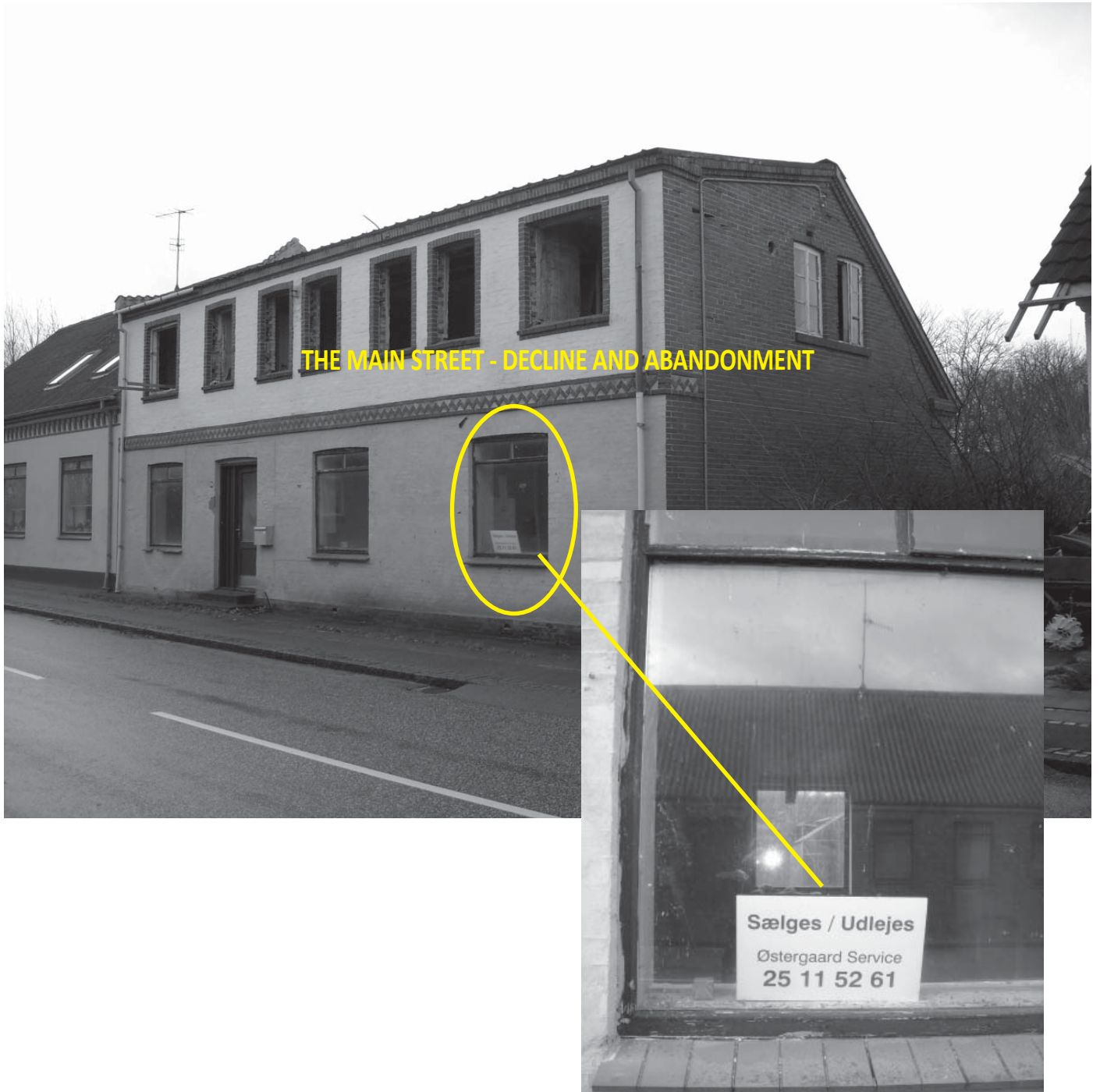
Fig. 85 and 86:The short mainstreet of Vestervig is characterized by empty houses and houses for sale, where 7 houses are abandoned, 4 is for sale and several is decaying (Photo by Lea Holst Laursen)

A possible way of exploiting the empty houses and farms is by seeking revitalization through second home strategies. In reality, the hybridization of first, second and third homes, is already highly developed in the Danish fringe territories. Year-round residences have been converted for holiday or additional home purposes in many attractive coastal areas. Other towns, e.g. Løkken, newly constructed numerous year-round residences without residence obligation. At the same time a growing number of pensioners settle completely legally in their summer cottages. Skagen town may be the best known example of development by tourism in a Danish fringe region. The area of the peripheral former Skagen municipality, now Frederikshavn, is declining in population. But Skagen has also a strong brand identity: scenically placed on the top of North Jutland, with its unique light, cultural history as artist colony and today a preferred holiday spot for the rich and famous in Denmark. In the case of Skagen tourism and especially second home strategies have been economically successful. Yet, large parts of Skagen town are today only lived in during the summer season, and house prices rise to such an extent that real estate property became unavailable for many locals. Skagen has thus almost developed into a twin town – one for leisure, one for everyday life – with the neighbor village Aalbæk where house prices are much lower. Apart from these questionable effects, the example of Skagen suggests that a second home strategy in a geographically remote area requires exceptional features and cannot easily be transferred to any place.

It is still questionable if the market for second homes in Denmark can be extended beyond the most attractive locations in peripheral areas. In addition, many residences in shrinking areas and especially in the rural districts do not live up to contemporary technical and comfort standards such as e.g. access to internet communication. At the conference Ny dynamik i Danmarks yderområder (New dynamics in Denmark's outskirts) the establishment of an extensive broadband network was proposed to enable remote work and thereby improve transformation premises (Ny Thisted Kommune & Realdania 2006). But even if this great investment was made, second home and other conversions are not a universal remedy. Urban researcher at Aalborg University Jørgen Møller judges the potential for second home development in shrinking rural districts rather skeptically. In Møller's opinion it is hopeless to imagine that all empty residences in shrinking Danish regions can be transformed into second homes and used as such. He therefore proposes to think parallel to and alongside with renewal and transformation strategies to develop targeted demolition strategies, with respect to the cultural and architectural values of the buildings

Fig.87:The characteristic landscape of Thisted –  Klitmøller (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

and their functions in their respective built contexts (Møller 2007). According to Møller, shrinking municipalities need both methodological and financial aid as well as appropriate planning tools.

**Socio-cultural Capital**

Socially and culturally, the declining Danish territories do not face the same chal-lenges as e.g. Baltimore yet. In Denmark there is a public social security net seeking to handle social and cultural issues and to create spatial equality. However, there are discussions on whether it becomes necessary to reduce the public service in the Danish outskirt areas. There have been discussions concerning the possible close-down of schools, reduction in the custodial care, cutting off of funds for cultural institutions etc. Thus, in future there seems to be increasing discussions of spatial equality. Can and should planning continually strive towards equal access to welfare and urban institutions throughout Denmark? And if not, how can a sustainable cut back of welfare services eventually come about? These challenges require innova-tive and experimental approaches and not least spatial visions of territories yet to come (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

## 3.2 SUMMARY - LEARNING FROM BALTIMORE AND DENMARK

The two cases - Baltimore and Denmark - show the development of contemporary urbanity - an urbanity where growth and decline intermingle in a complex interplay. When looking at the two cases the overall urban development trend seems to be an increased urbanization in some urban territories and a decline of others. This means that first and foremost a demographical relocation is happening, but also an economical relocation is taking place. In Denmark a general move from the countryside to the larger Danish cities, which develop into urban regions, is taking place. As opposed to this, people in the U.S. are moving from the city centers into an expanding suburban region. In a simplified way, the Americans do not want to live in the city center and the Danes do not want to live in the rural outskirt areas. This results in both cases in a huge amount of vacant buildings and structures.

If using the term shrinking cities, both the City of Baltimore and the Municipality of Thisted can be denoted a shrinking city, because they are both experiencing an overall decline. But when taking a closer look at them, it becomes clear that even though they are going through an overall decline, they also have well functioning enclaves which might even be growing. Definitely, certain areas within the city center of Baltimore and the municipality of Thisted seem to lose value, due to processes of suburbanization and deindustrialization in Baltimore and in the municipality of Thisted due to an increased urbanization elsewhere and changes in social, cultural and physical development tendencies. However, looking at what could be considered an overall declining territory, which Baltimore and Thisted Municipality both are, growth as well as decline exist locally, illustrating that growth and decline are situated right next to each other, at different scales. Thus, an important observation is that inside these overall declining regions, a dynamic pattern of growing and declining local communities occurs (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Altogether scale is an important element; because the particular scale determines the relation between growth and decline, e.g. Baltimore Metropolitan area is overall growing (regional scale), Baltimore City is overall declining (city scale), whereas different enclaves in the city are either shrinking or declining (neighborhood scale). This interplay between growth and decline would also seem to be the case for a generally growing area as there are declining areas inside the growing territory. Thereby, territorial shrinkage occurs rather as a dynamic pattern of growth and decline than as a coherent regional condition (cf. Ny Thisted Kommune & Realdania 2007). To eliminate territorial shrinkage as an isolated phenomenon is therefore not possible. Thus it seems as though the term shrinking cities, as it was described in part 1, is difficult to apply. Shrinkage and growth should rather be considered

dynamic relational phenomena depending on multiple developments e.g. at the political, socio-cultural, economical or technical level (cf. ARCHIS 2004). This means that there are bigger and smaller territories suffering from shrinkage and bigger and smaller areas experiencing growth.

Even though shrink is not an isolated factor it does not mean that enormous changes of the urban fabric have not occurred during the last 40 years; these need to be looked upon, understood and perhaps also to become conceptualized. The fact remains that an increased urbanization is happening in some places, whereas other places are declining and this tendency seems to increase. Thus, it is important to deal with these territories.

**Shrinking Cities after Investigating the Cases**
After investigating the cases, one point of critique against shrinking cities is that the geographical demarcation is not well enough defined, implying that the city level scale is too large to look at, as an indicator for overall shrinking. This means that after investigating both cases at least one alteration in addition to the term shrinking cities seems necessary, in order to make the term usable; this is to look at the use of the word 'city' in shrinking cities. The cases of Baltimore and Thisted Municipality show us that entire cities do not shrink. Because the case shows that shrinkage rather occurs as dynamic patterns of growth and decline than as a coherent regional or city condition. Thus, shrinking cities is evident at multiple scales where not only cities shrink but also regions, city quarters etc. are shrinking. Looking at Denmark, the rural regions or the smaller urban agglomerations in the rural areas are shrinking, whereas in Baltimore the old working class neighborhoods in the inner cities are shrinking. The word city does, therefore, seem incomprehensive to use. In order to incorporate this scalar view it could be comprehensive to divide shrink into three: regional (rural) shrinkage, city shrinkage and shrinkage in a part of a city (a shrinking enclave) (Laursen and Braae 2006).

In continuation of this I in my research turned towards the term of shrinking territories[36] as a more operational term than shrinking cities. The term territory is often used to describe a region or a larger area, but it can cover any given area size. A territory is an area with boundaries and within this territory different processes take place. The development in society where increased globalization weakens the role of the nation-state and a territorial approach can be useful, by dividing the urban into new geographical enclaves across nation-states, regions or cities, but with a united identity – a territory. Furthermore, one might argue that with increasing

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globalization  as a fact, the term territories can capture the span from global to local, as territories can both include a regional perspective (possibly a cross-national scale) and a local scale (the specific place). But a critique point towards the term of shrinking territories is that the territorial approach only increases the scale of the phenomenon but the phenomenon is thereby not described better.

**Drosscape**

In both Thisted and Baltimore the surplus of built structures is evident, and this might be the obvious indicator of the state these areas are in. Areas undergoing total decay leading to ruins can best be described as spaces left over after planning (SLOAP) – areas with no or with just a limited use. These areas have been described in various ways: 'Terrain Vague' by Ignasi de Sola Morales, 'voids' by Adriaan Geuze

Fig.88:The voids of Baltimore (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

or 'surplus areas' by Tom Nielsen (Danish: overskudslandskaber). These terms all cover territories with no or limited use, due to social transformations, and they consist of territories such as industrial sites, infrastructural systems, harbor areas, criminal areas, public buildings, residential buildings, dumping grounds, highway sides etc. which have all been abandoned or are not used.

Alan Berger (2006), Associate Professor of Urban Design and Landscape Architecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, operates with the term 'Drosscape' which covers the enormous amount of waste territories in American urbanization. According to Berger, drosscape emerges from the same two urban processes as Beauregard operates with in his parasitic urbanism (2007), namely the rapid suburbanization processes and the leftover areas after the era of industrialization, which in contemporary urbanity do not have any use.

Fig.89:An abandoned farm house in the surroundings of Vestervig (photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

"As America rapidly de-industrializes, it is simultaneously urbanizing faster than at any other time in modern history. What then are the links between urbanization and de-industrialization, and the production of "waste landscapes" in American cities?" (Berger, 2006: 199)

Berger states that no urban growth takes place without waste and that drosscapes are an indicator of a healthy urban growth (Berger 2006: 20). This corresponds with the fact that capitalist economies have a tendency to develop and expand but they are also unstable and differentiating, and spatial-territorial change is central to the dynamics of capitalism (Storper 1989). Thus, Berger finds that "reusing this waste landscape figures to be one of the twenty-first century's great infrastructural design challenges" (Berger, 2006: 199) and the ones best suited for this are the ones operating with and understanding both landscape and urbanization.

**The Nodal Point and the Hinterland**
The Danish case shows that even in a country with a strong welfare equity model spatial polarization appears, even though the regional disparity is significantly lower than in the U.S. As described in chapter 1.3, this is caused by general tendencies in contemporary urbanity, which reinforces a development of huge urban agglomerations where power, culture, economy and people are concentrated. This creates vast interlinked urban fields which take up enormous areas of land, as can be seen in the realization of the Danish 'city band' from Randers to Kolding. These urban fields have to grow and expand in order to be able to compete with other urban agglomerations around the world, at the expense of the hinterland, which is subsequently drained of economy and population. The hinterland is not able to compete with these urban structures and is to some extent put out of the running.

# PART IV -
# URBAN  TRANSFORMATION  -
# NEW THEORETICAL TAKEOFF

# 4.0 URBAN TRANSFORMATION

This part of the thesis sets out to conclude on the basis of the many different issues that have been discussed in the theoretical investigations and in the case studies. This will be done by outlining a new conceptualization or a new theoretical takeoff which aims to capture all the findings.

Throughout the theoretical investigations and the case studies, a number of alterations or critique points towards shrinking cities have emerged. The critique points have been the geographical demarcation of shrinking cities, the fact the term shrinking cities is an over-simplification where many causes are combined in one single term,the question whether shrinking cities is a new term  and the nature of the relationship between growth and decline.

As what could be considered a recapitulation and also as a response to these points of critique, I will introduce an alternative to shrinking cities: this is a more relational and holistic approach towards urban growth and decline, which I chose to call urban transformation. Thus, it becomes clear that shrinking cities is a variation of urbanism with some distinct features, but also with similarities to other variations of urbanism. Combined with the fact that growth and decline are relational the term 'shrinking territories' might aptly enter into a broader conceptual frame. Furthermore, I will reflect on this new conception of urban transformation and discuss why I chose to use a new conception.

**From Shrink to Urban transformations**
Urban transformations deal with both growing *and* declining urban territories, because no territory is just declining or just growing but is containing both aspects to some degree, as seen in the theoretical investigations as well as in the case studies.

Thus, urban transformations provide a more holistic approach when trying to understand the contemporary development tendencies as a whole, where the different components and structures of the urban are taken together and not dealt with separately. This means that urban transformation is all inclusive and captures the relational aspect by both containing growth *and* decline. Urban transformation is a term that includes both urbanization and de-urbanization that is urban growth as well as negative urban development. Thereby, the term urban transformation

is dynamic and changeable and the character of the term seems to be appropriate in relation to the increased, differentiated urban development taking place. Thus, urban transformations give a nuanced picture of the phenomenon being studied.

With the term urban transformations I wish to introduce a conceptualization that brings the relational and holistic aspects into the debate. Shrinking cities is a one sided term that only focuses on declining urban areas while other terms covering the opposite, such as mega-cities or global cities.

When looking at the word urban transformation it might be questioned whether it is the right term to use, especially taking into consideration that urban transformation is a frequently used term to employ. Furthermore, in my opinion, shrinking cities cover too little, while the term urban transformation might be too broad, covering too much. I think urban transformation suggests a more network-oriented approach, which captures the fact that a greater transformation is happening which requires a differentiated and nuanced investigation. Urban transformation is often used as a term to cover physical transformation of urban areas within the urban fabric, previously used for other purposes. In this context, urban transformation is seen as covering both this traditional understanding of transforming something by design and also the fact that the urban always is transforming and changing character, emphasizing the continuous change of urban growth and urban decline.

When using the term urban transformation, neither growth nor decline is given value as something positive or negative. This is comprehensive because there are both positive and negative aspects related to growth and decline, e.g. growing urban areas are also dealing with negative aspects such as pollution and traffic jams, besides all the positive aspects of growth. Maybe the time has come to get past these value-laden opinions and instead talk about transformational problems and potentials?

**4.0.0 Urban Mutations**
The term urban transformation is chosen because the urban fabric is not a static unit remaining the same. On the contrary, the urban is ever changeable and continues to mutate into new forms.

Adjunct Professor of Architecture at Columbia University Graham Shane (2005) considers the urban as being a mutating organism, like Ignasi de Solá Morales (1996). They define the city as being a mutated organism - an organ that is alive and transforming. Shane formulates this in the following lines:

*"Seeking increased efficiency, profit, or pleasure, urban actors splice together urban structures that handle urban flows, producing new settings for their activities or reusing old ones for altered circumstances."* (Shane 2005: 6).

By using their conception, the shrinkage of some places is just one aspect of such an urban mutation. Shane sees this as an expanded field which "comprises sparsely populated landscapes as well as hyper dense, global city nodes" (Shane 2005: 11). This means that we need new strategies and tactics that can cope with the hybrid patchwork of contemporary urbanism (Shane 2005: 11).

The way Solá Morales (1996) sees the changes happening in contemporary urbanity is as a mutation in the cells of the city. The idea of Solá Morales is often related to the rapidly growing megapoles where this growth is uncontrollable. However, this mutation has the potential to result in both cities that grow rapidly and in cities that become left-over and shrink.

*"A casual, random change in the cell's genetic material produces alterations in one or more inherited characteristics, provoking a break in the mechanisms of heredity: a mutation is produced; a substantial alteration affecting both the morphology and the physiology, not only of the cell or the organ but of the entire organism."* (Solá Morales 1996: 12)

This means that the urban is an ever changing organism; therefore it is possible to argue that the contemporary spatial configuration is different from e.g. the spatial configuration of the industrial era. This has made many formerly thriving industrial regions superfluous, with stagnation or decline as a result. An example is the United States which during the last decades has experienced a rather dramatic reshuffling during which the Rustbelt cities experienced decline, whereas the Sunbelt cities were growing. Thus, spatial configuration is an ever transforming urbanity that is permanent temporarily; this means that cities are permanent for a specific period following which they transform, often due to a reorganization of capitalism. Thereby, changes will happen - just time defines how long we are in a certain period and we have to plan for transformation.

The urban is thereby transforming without any consideration of the past or of other values, and often this mutation happens so fast that it is impossible to either analyze or intervene in the process. We nevertheless have to try to do both, and according to Solá Morales this emphasizes a need for working with open interactive morphologies.

*"To design mutation, to introduce oneself into its centrifugal energy, ought to involve at once the design of the public and the private space, of mobility and of specialized sites, of the organism as a whole and of the individual elements."* (Solá Morales 1996: 14)

### 4.0.1 Urban Transformation and the Urban Landscape

This concept of urban transformations seems to fit into the concept of the urban landscape, as the dynamic character of both terms can have a mutually stimulating effect. Thereby, the urban landscape is a field consisting of built-up and un-built areas connected through flow systems as well as a field of urban transformations, indicating that the urban landscape contains urbanization (growth) and de-urbanization (shrinkage).

In the urban landscape there are always areas undergoing transformation and it is a dynamic field. Urban areas never stop changing but will transform over time and this transformative landscape can accommodate both growth and decline. Furthermore, the physical demarcation between specific areas is more fluid in this urban landscape where the boundaries between areas are blurred, both in relation to growth and decline and to urban and landscape. This corresponds to what the cases show: urban growth and urban decline are situated next to each other and interact, so that urban built structures and the landscape melt together – creating a dynamic, urban patchwork.

### The Urban Landscape

The theoretical consideration behind a urban landscape approach is the fact the traditional conception of city as a unifying whole seems difficult to use in contemporary urbanity, because it is difficult to distinguish between built and un-built areas. Instead, it is more inclusive to work with urbanity as an urban landscape with built-up and un-built areas intermingling in a hybrid condition. Thus, the traditional conception of the city as being a concentric city with a center and a periphery does not seem to reflect reality. Instead, the understanding of urbanism can be collected

in the idea that contemporary urbanity is a continuum of built-up spaces and open spaces, connected by a network of flow systems (Sieverts 2003, Nielsen 2001). This shift seems to correspond with the shift from the industrial era entering the global era, where the concentric city was the city of the industrial era the poly-nuclear city is the city of globalization.

*»The traditional notion of the city as a historical and institutional core surrounded by postwar suburbs and then open countryside has been largely replaced by a more polycentric and web like sprawl: the regional metropolis.«* (Wall 1999: 234)

When looking at the last 50 years of rapid city development, the mono-centric understanding of the city does not seem to correspond with the actual structure of the city. The way the city has transformed is described well in Cedric Price's egg metaphor (Shane 2005). The traditional, dense city can be seen as a hard boiled egg with a well defined center and a matching periphery and a clear separation from the country-side. The fried egg is the expanding industrial city, where infrastructural systems stretch into the countryside defining a linear growth creating a star shape city. Finally, there is the contemporary scrambled egg city where city and country-side melt together in a network structure.

This understanding of the urban can be related to Walter Christaller's work concerning South Germany in the 1930's. Christaller explains how a hierarchy exists among cities where some cities are more important and have more functions than others and how cities enter a relationship dependent on each other. What has happened can be coined in the following lines of Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin in their book Splintering Urbanism: ".... the physical spread of cities and the widespread shift from traditional, core-dominated cities to polycentric and extended urban regions" (Graham and Marvin 2001: 114-115). Thereby, they state that "the idealized structures of classical urbanism and urban geography – always dramatic oversimplifications – are increasingly at odds with the forms and landscapes of most contemporary cities" (Graham and Marvin 2001: 116). This development has lead to a spatial configuration that is more undefined and fractured, where the urban periphery can be the centre and the centre can be the margin (Graham 2002). This means that the hinterland is able to determine what remains of the centre and this becomes the dynamic of the contemporary cities (Dear 2002). In this new geography, the peripheries become the new centers, and Graham and Marvin even state that the city centers can be considered legacies from the past (2001: 116) as they tend to be physically and/or technically obsolete. These tendencies can be related

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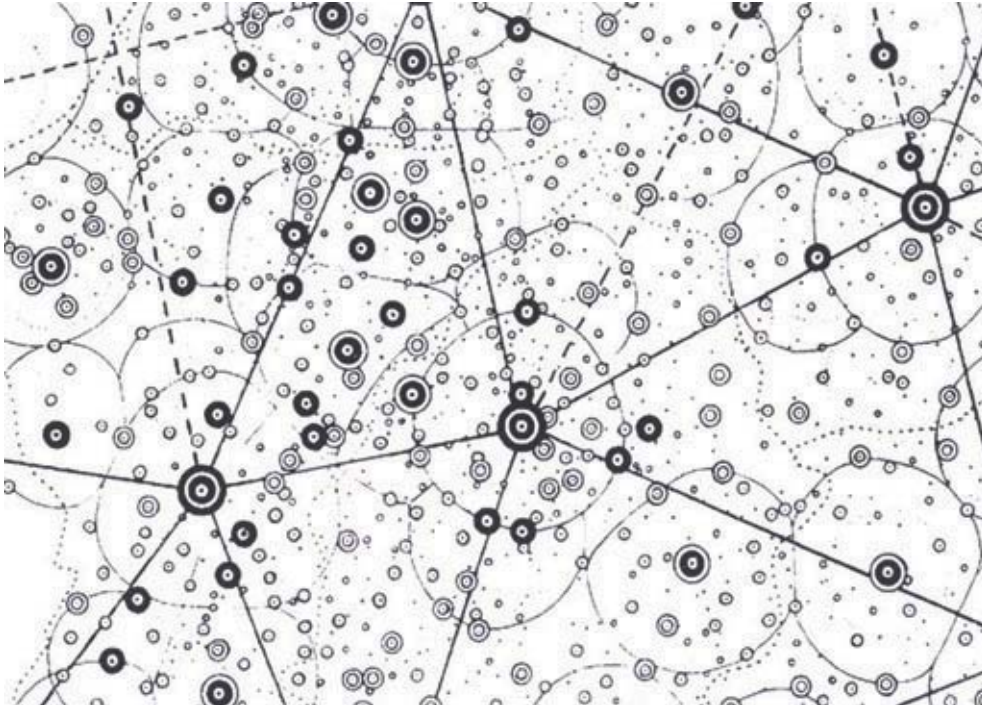
Fig. 90: Walter Christaller's diagram of South Germany (Nielsen, 2001)

to an increasing amount of infrastructures, ranging from flows of automobiles to internet flows where cities enter into a long row of networks. The city is no longer an independent system to the same extent as previously but enters into a long line of financial, business and cultural networks, which influence the cities and their development.

*"Cities found themselves irredeemably engulfed in an open national and international economy where they counted more as complex nodes in networks than as isolatable entities".* (Veltz 2000: 34)

Therefore, it is ambiguous to talk about the city as being an independent enclave. It is more correct to characterize contemporary society as a network-society where cities, regions, and countries are connected through different flows and networks. Steven Graham (2002: 111) points out that instead of being independent enclaves: "Rather, "multiplex" urban regions are emerging with multiple centers; multiple flows, and, most importantly, highly dispersed and fragmented temporal and spatial structures."

This poly-nuclear understanding corresponds with the ideas in Thomas Sieverts book: *Cities without Cities* (2003) where he talks about the urbanized landscape or the landscaped city, and where the book focuses on creating awareness of this urban-rural landscape as a new form of city (Sieverts 2003: ix). This new form of city, which Sieverts calls it, is spreading across the world. Siverts calls this the Zwischenstadt ( in-between-city); "which means the type of built-up area that is between the old historical city centers and the open countryside, between the place as a living space and the non-places of movement, between small economic cycles and the dependency on the world market" (Sieverts 2003: xi). This zwischenstadt contains equal parts of built-up and open areas and the open areas seem to be the connecting tissue. Thereby, the city-regions are about to grow together into a more or less uniform and continuous living area (Sieverts 2003: 58) without beginning or end.

This holistic approach to the urban can be related to the work of Xaveer De Geyter (2002) in his book: *Aftersprawl* in which he looks at the European urban mega-structure "The Blue Banana". This urban field of almost coalesced cities goes from London in the north to Italy in the south and De Geyter states that there is no clear demarcation between the cities in the blue banana; according to Xaveer De Geyter there are no more than 50 km between the larger cities in this area.

**From City to Urban Landscape**
This changed conception of urbanism has led to a confrontation with the dichotomy of city and countryside, where a change of paradigm has appeared. Instead of seeing countryside and city as two separate conflicting worlds, city and countryside can be seen as nuances in the same system. A hybrid landscape has come into being, in which the distinction between city, suburb and the countryside is no longer self-evident. Both periphery and central city have been subjected to new mechanisms of fragmentation.

In this new, diluted urban model, the fragments are increasingly removed from one another. Periphery and central city have thus blended to form an amorphous and fractured landscape, which we can refer to as a posturban space or an urban landscape. And thereby it is comprehensive to move away from the word city and replace it with the term urban landscape. The term city is used frequently to cover many different aspects of contemporary urbanism, where it covers high density megapoles, the concentric city, the sprawl condition etc., and with the appearance of shrinking cities, the definition of city will have to be expanded to cover cities with low densities as well.

Further, the term city is thought of as a closed whole, having a centre and a periphery and being separated from the surrounding landscape. This understanding does not fit into actual contemporary urban fabric which is seen as a much more fluid urban landscape of different enclaves placed in a landscape connected through infrastructure. Thereby, the definition of what is urban is broadened up. With the urban landscape approach "everything" can be considered urban, suggesting that the urban fabric is an urban landscape with intensities of respectively city and countryside. This leads to a 'landscape urban' approach where the landscape gets a more important position. The landscape is an integrated part of the urban.

The phenomenon of shrinkage can be seen as supporting this dilution of the traditional city into a fragmented and enclave based urban agglomeration connected through various networks; one can argue that it is the "old" city or the old understanding of the city, as a high density area, which is shrinking. German architects Philipp Oswalt, Klaus Overmeyer and Walter Prigge (2002) also talk about how a paradigm shift or a basic change of thinking has to take place regarding the form of the city. This is necessary because cities do not follow the traditional compact European city structure. Instead they point at a new type of city standing in the horizon – a posturban city – which is a perforate patchwork city consisting of heterogeneous fragments that respectively both grow and shrink, linked by the landscape as the connecting tissue (Oswalt, Overmeyer, Prigge, 2002).

**4.0.2 Landscape Urbanism as Strategy for Handling Growth and Decline**
This understanding of the urban landscape corresponds with the ideas of Graham Shane in his book *Recombinant Urbanism* (2005). Shane talks about the increased role of landscape urbanism, suggesting that "Landscape Urbanists could accommodate both growth and shrinkage across city-territory in their view of urban systems, giving their work particular relevance to shrinking post-industrial cities like Detroit (2005: 10). This seems to be the same idea as the one presented by Graham and Marvin when they state that the future is peri-urban, where "complex patchworks of growth and decline, concentration and decentralization, poverty and extreme wealth are juxtaposed" (Graham and Marvin 2001: 115).

The reason that the landscape urbanisms approach can be applied in growing and declining areas is that it is looking at the city as a dynamic and changeable process, where social, cultural and economical aspects are important to incorporate in the planning of the city, among other things. Thereby, there is not an unambiguous and general answer to how to intervene in contemporary urbanity; on the contrary, several suggestions are explored.

Thus, landscape urbanism can as design strategy and approach be applied to both growing and declining areas. How to use landscape urbanism in growing areas can be seen in the work of Tschumi and Koolhaas's Parc de la Villette proposals and Waldheim et al's work in the *Stalking Detroit* shows the use of landscape urbanism in declining areas.

**Parc de la Villette**

This is one the first projects to orchestrate the urban programme as a landscape process. In 1982, there was a competition to design Parc de la Villette: an "Urban Park for the 21st century" (Waldheim, 2006). This park was to be situated in a more than 125-acre site, once the site of Paris's largest slaughterhouse. At that time many cities suffered from de-industrialization and with the construction of Parc de la Vil-

Fig. 91: Parc de la Villette, Paris (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

lette, former industrial activity was replaced and transformed into a post-industrial site with other activities and programmes (Waldheim, 2006).

In La Villette the landscape is used as the basic framework for this urban transformation (Waldheim, 2006: 40). You can say that with the competition for la Villette a new path of postmodern urban parks began, in which landscape itself was conceived as a complex medium capable of articulating relations between urban infrastructure, public events and indeterminate urban futures for large post-industrial sites (Waldheim, 2006: 40). Furthermore, Parc de la Villette is an example of an urban park with complex programmes of culture and recreational elements and the park has to function as an open-air cultural center with programmes addressing the needs of the city. The conditions for designing a park like that in Paris was first of all that Paris is an active mega-pole with speed and change; arguing against a park with only passive aesthetics.

This meant that the emphasis of the project was less on design in terms of styling identity, representation, or formal composition, and much more on strategic organization. The surface had to be equipped and staged in a way that was able to both anticipate and accommodate any number of changing demands and programmes, and two of the submissions - by Tschumi and OMA - clearly signaled an emerging paradigm shift in the rethinking of contemporary urbanism (Waldheim, 2006: 40).

The winning scheme was by the office of Bernard Tschumi, and this represented a conceptual leap in the development of landscape urbanism; it formulated landscape as the most suitable medium through which to order programmatic and social change over time, especially complex, evolving arrangements of urban activities (Waldheim, 2006: 40).

This scheme continued Tschumi's longstanding interest in reconstituting events and programmes as legitimate architectural concerns in lieu of the stylistic issues dominating architectural discourse in the postmodern era, as he stated in his competition entry (Waldheim, 2006: 41). Tschumi's point of departure is the fact that the area previously has had another urban function (slaughterhouse) and thereby is a part of the city.

The purpose is: *»….our project is motivated by the most constructive principle within the legitimate »history« of architecture, by which new programmatic developments and inspirations result in new typologies. Our ambition is to create a new model in which program, form, and ideology all play integral roles."* (Tschumi 2000: 55)

Tschumi works, like Koolhaas, with different programmatic layers just in a more deterministic way; he has a deconstructivistic approach where the programmes and functions are laid down over the area as layers, whereupon they are deconstructed, creating zones of intensity which give the final plan. But, unlike Koolhass, the functions and programmes are planned in detail and the park has a closed or finished character (Compendium 2002).

Perhaps more referenced than the winning scheme is Koolhaas and OMA's second-prize entry. The project is regarded as an exemplary example of seeing the city as an urban landscape, because it will challenge the traditional concepts of the Arcadian park, Koolhaas describes their multilayered projects as a "landscape of social instruments", in which the quality of the projects would derive from the uses, juxtapositions and adaptabilities to alternating programmes over time.

Koolhaas and OMA put down different layers of programmes which create a park that can change over time and in relation to different needs; Koolhaas is of the opinion that it is important to embed open programmes, where the landscape is flexible and open to several uses.

Koolhaas and OMA (1995) works with the four strategic layers that organize different parts of the programme:

the "east-west strips" of varying synthetic and natural surfaces,
the "confetti grid" of large and small service points and kiosks,
the various "circulation paths",
the "large objects" such as the linear and round forest.

This means that rather than a fixed plan, the project offered the city a framework for developing flexible uses as needs and desires changed. The strips and grids across surfaces, the point services and the larger structures were designed to be both responsive and adaptive. The action of sliding one thing over another allowed for quantitative changes without loss of organizational structure. This framework of

flexible congestion, whose character and efficacy lies in its capacity to adapt change, set a significant precedent in later formulations of urbanism

The infrastructure of the park is of great importance, because that will be instrumental in the strategical organization and support and it will facilitate the indeterminate and unknowable range of future uses over time:

*"[I]t is safe to predict that during the life of the park, the program will undergo constant change and adjustment. The more the park works, the more it will be in a perpetual state of revision…..The underlying principle of programmatic indeterminacy as a basis of the formal concept allows any shift, modification, replacement, or substitutions to occur without damaging the initial hypothesis"* (Koolhaas 1995: )

Fig. 92: Parc de la Villette, Paris (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

It is a very pragmatic way of working with the park, without a detailed design proposal; the project is more a method combining architectonic principles with programmatic ones, thereby making it possible to continuously modify, add and replace elements in the park.

*"The essence of the competition therefore becomes: how to orchestrate on a metropolitan field the most dynamic coexistence of activities x, y and z and to generate through their mutual interference a chain reaction of new, unprecedented events; or how to design a social condenser, based on horizontal congestion, the size of a park."* (Koolhaas 1995: 921)

Both la Villette projects show how the landscape becomes a MEDIUM that is uniquely capable of responding to temporal change, transformation, adaptation and succession – which are all characteristic factors in contemporary urbanity.

Through their deployment of postmodern ideas of open-endedness and indeterminacy, Tschumi's and Koolhaas's projects for Parc de la Villette signaled the role that landscape would come to play as a medium through which to articulate a postmodern urbanism: layered, non-hierarchical, flexible and strategic (Waldheim 2006: 41). Both schemes offered a nascent form of landscape urbanism, constructing a horizontal field of infrastructure, which might accommodate all sorts of urban activities, planned and unplanned, imagined and unimagined, over time.

In the wake of la Villette, architectural culture has become increasingly aware of the role of the landscape as a viable framework for the contemporary city. Across a diverse spectrum of cultural positions landscape has emerged as the most relevant medium through which to construct a meaningful and viable public realm.

**Stalking Detroit**
In the book *Stalking Detroit* there are several design proposals that uses a landscape urbanist approach. In the following I will introduce to one of them; being Charles Waldheim and Marili Santos-Munné's *Decamping Detroit*. This project is a good example of how landscape urbanism can be used in areas with negative urban development. It deals with the city as an ever changing process and shows how the landscape can change over time. Waldheim and Santos-Munnè see the "landscape as the only medium capable of dealing with simultaneously decreasing densities and indeterminate futures" (Waldheim et at 2001: 110).

In the project the point of departure is the fact that the unbuilt of the city is more frequent than the built; meaning the city is dissolving into a landscape of decay. Further, they see American cities as "a temporary, ad hoc arrangement based on the momentary optimization of industrial production" (Waldheim et al 2001: 107) and that American cities must acknowledge this temporary, provisional nature (Waldheim et al 2001).

*"Rather than a permanent construction, one must take American urbanism as an essentially temporary, provisional, and continuously revised articulation of property ownership, speculative development, and mobile capital"* (Waldheim et al 2001: 108)
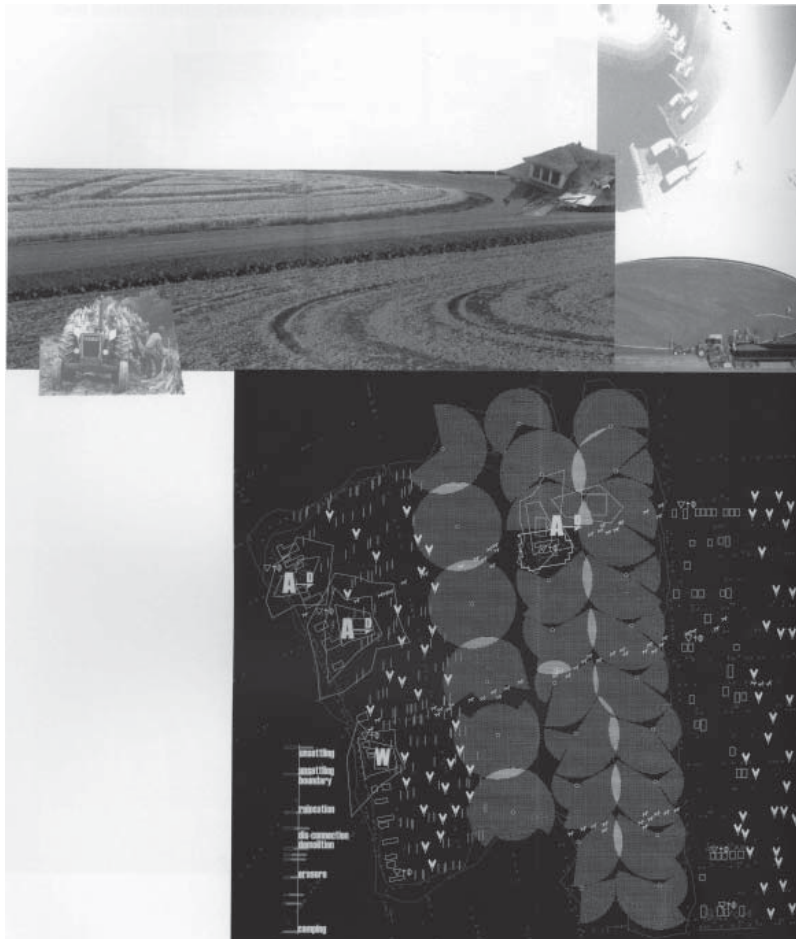


Fig. 93: A scenario creating a experimental agricultural cooperative homestead (Illustration: Waldheim et al 2001: 120)

The project Decamping Detroit deals with returning the most vacant areas to the landscape, where the project "stages and choreographs the processes of decommissioning, depopulating, and reconceiving of these territories" (Waldheim et at 2001: 110). Detroit is decamping and instead of just letting this void spaces return to nature they are transformed into landscapes of indeterminate status (Waldheim et at 2001: 110).

The most vacant areas in Detroit is chosen for this design project; meaning the areas with more than 70% vacancy and in these areas there are proposed scenarios by which these areas might be reconstituted (Waldheim et al 2001: 113). The project contains of four strategic steps which the most vacant areas has to undergo. The first step is dislocation, which deals with the voluntary relocation of the remaining residents, the closing of city service etc. When this is happened these zones are completely empty and can be seen as reserves for new purposes. The next step is erasure, which removes the existing structures preparing the land for the new purposes. The third step is called absorption and is an ecological re-constitution of the zones through tree farming. The last step is infiltration and is proposals for re-programming the sites.

Fig. 94: A scenario creating a firefighter academy (Illustration: Waldheim et al 2001: 120)
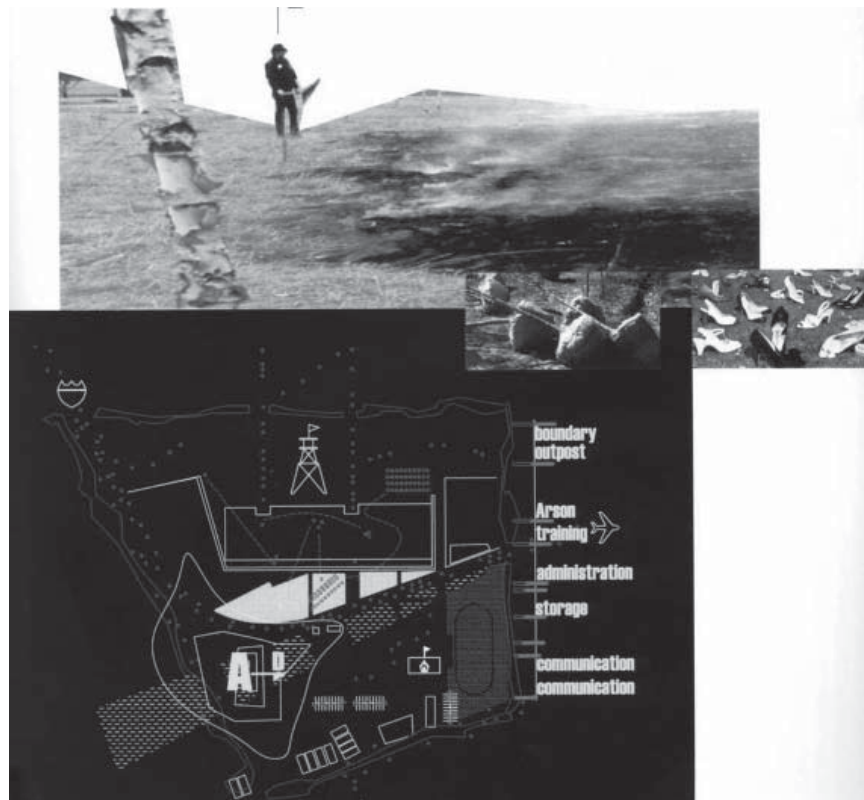
# PART V - INTERVENTIONS

The first part of the thesis did not look in detail at the consequences of urban growth and urban decline, respectively. However, in the introduction I shortly touched on the subject, when mentioning that Berlin and Shenzhen illustrate how urban growth areas as well as urban decline areas have both positive and negative conditions, structures and stories. This is nevertheless often overruled by a very general assumption that urban growth territories are connected with only positive images, whereas urban decline territories are connected merely with negative images, suggesting that growth expands while decline shrinks the narrative possibilities (Beauregard 2005).

As we saw in Shenzhen, a dynamic job market and economical prosperity are the positive elements of a growth region. However, in urban growth areas sky high prices on housing, traffic congestion and pollution such as noise and smog are also realities. Then, turning towards Berlin which is struggling with high unemployment and economical shrinkage, we saw a blooming artist environment and an interesting cultural scene, which is taking advantage of the cheap housing and living expenses existing in Berlin.

This means that in a growing as well as in a declining territory there are potentials and challenges that need to be taken care of and to be addressed by urban designers and planners. These challenges are dealt with very differently depending on the norms (artistic, technical, law norms etc.) of the country or the urban territory in which the design has to be implemented, and also on the norms of the designers who come up with the specific design solution. These norms separate the different planning - and design traditions, and the norms play a huge role in relation to which kind of strategy is taken in the specific territory.

In this second part of the thesis called interventions I will look at different design interventions that have been developed in Baltimore and Denmark. Here, the area of interest will be design proposals for areas undergoing negative urban transformations – looking at the challenges within these territories for urban design. This focus on strategies and designs for declining areas lies within two areas, 1) an increased number of territories facing difficulties due to social changes and, 2) a personal interest in discussing possible strategies in these areas, aiming at supporting a vibrant every day life. Often the answer to urban decline is to turn decline into growth, but with prospects of further population decline, restricted public and private investments as well as partly emptying housing and production stock, possibilities

for complete trend reversal seem limited (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). Thus, there seems to be a need for alternative planning solutions addressing the specific challenges of the declining territories.

The way I will conduct this investigation is by using the analysis model 2 which was presented in part II. This will shed light on the content of a broad variety of interventions that have been applied in the two cases. The model contributes to unveil the positive as well as the negative aspects of the different design interventions conducted in respectively Baltimore and Denmark and also to show which agents are behind the initiatives. Through this recognition, the aim is to discover elements that can be included in future work with areas in decline. The different interventions will be listed in chronological order, with the oldest projects listed first. Some of the interventions, however, span a period of several years and may be still running, even though they were started in e.g. the 1990s. These interventions will be listed in accordance with the time when the project was first started.

Furthermore, I include different student projects in the summary of the chapters concerning interventions in Baltimore and Denmark. This is done because these student projects concern some very relevant considerations and approaches to handling negative urban development, in my opinion.

From the findings in the cases I will draw out a set of guiding principles for future interventions and discuss their importance in relation to handling negative urban development.

## 5.0 HANDLING NEGATIVE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN BALTIMORE

*"…..but urban development in the United States is, in its first instance, a process of capital investments"* (Beauregard 1993: 22)

In an American context Baltimore has a famous history of redevelopment. By the 1950's the Inner Harbor was, as many other American downtown areas, decimated with derelict warehouses standing as a testament to a once thriving commercial center. Following this structural crisis, spatial planning increasingly dealt with renewal of the urban core. In the late 1970s – the beginning of the 1980s, the inner harbor of Baltimore was redeveloped, fuelled by the hope that this would stop the city's decline. The project was very prestigious and stated as a big success, but the question remains whether the revitalization has been that successful.

Thus, revitalization of the urban cores in the 1970s and 1980s was one of the great tasks for planners in the U.S. The goal with these revitalization projects was mainly to create renewed growth and expansion, which became evident in the way that most projects were developed as well as organized. Furthermore, politically it was common to talk about reducing the scope and power of the government and thereby recreating the conditions for a rapid economic growth (Bluestone 1982). When the different projects opened they were seen as the symbol of rebirth for these cities, but retrospectively, they might not have had the wanted effects, e.g. the city of Baltimore is still struggling with decline.

Throughout the years, different federal and local programs in the US, such as urban renewal, UDAG (Urban Development Action Grant), TIF (Tax Increment Financing), BID (Business Improvement Districts) have been involved in redeveloping inner city areas. In this thesis I will look further into urban renewal, but before doing so I will shortly introduce the three other programs. UDAG existed over a twelve year period from 1978-1989 where it assisted economic development projects (Rich 1992). The TIF program is one of the most widespread approaches and, in short, it is a scenario where a city borrows against its expected increase in income and subsequently uses the enhanced tax revenues in a designated TIF district, to reimburse the cost of the public investment in the renewal (Teaford 2000). And finally, a BID is public-private partnership in which the businesses in a precisely defined district choose to pay an additional tax in order to fund improvements in the district, with the aim of benefiting both the public realm and the trading environment.

One of the most common ways in which these different programs have been used is related to the establishment of development corporations or Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). Both initiatives are resting on the idea that public and private inves-

tors go together in the development of new projects. In Baltimore the revitalization of the inner harbor in its different phases has also been run as a private-public partnership. One of the actors in the harbor front revitalization was James Rouse, a famous real-estate agent who is the person behind the harbor-place. Since developer James Rouse was often involved in the revitalization of Baltimore and other places, this type of intervention was sometimes referred to as "Rousefication" (Ford 2003).

## 5.0.0 The Charles Center - Urban Renewal

The Charles Center in downtown Baltimore was conducted under the urban renewal program. With its beginning in 1959, it was one of the first revitalization projects which were constructed in the Baltimore inner city area. The project was a private-



Fig. 95: Charles Center in Baltimore (Source: Google Earth, Image © 2008 Sanborn, Image U.S. Geological Survey © 2008 Tele Atlas)

public partnership between the City Government and the Greater Baltimore Committee, a committee of local businessmen.

The Charles center was a much admired complex containing offices, shops, restaurants, apartments and a Mechanic theater. The strength of the project lies in fact that the Charles Center was built to fit into the urban context. Instead of bulldozing the entire area, planners retained five existing buildings and incorporated them into



Fig. 96: Charles Center (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

a new center. Furthermore, one of the new structures of the project was designed by the famous architect Mies Van der Rohe (Teaford 2000). This was a dark bronze-colored, metal-and-glass office building that functions very well, architectonically.

Apart from being a well-integrated project and an architectonical success, the center actually also succeeded in creating more jobs. Before the center was built, 12.000 people worked in the area of the Charles Center and afterwards 17.000 had a job in the Charles Center.

**Urban Renewal**

In the 1960s the American urban renewal program[37] invested massively in the central cites. The intention with the program was to create renaissance and reconstruction in the city centers through improved housing, among other things. Apart from housing, the program financed several commercial projects such as the expansion and development of colleges, universities, hospitals etc. in the central cities (Teaford 2000). Some of the more famous projects under urban renewal are e.g. Lafayette Park in Detroit, Lincoln Center in New York and the Charles Center in Baltimore.

However, the urban renewal program did not become the success that it was planned to be and critiques questioned its merits, while pointing at problems like these: slum clearance meant removing the poor, some projects failed to pay financially and some projects fell short, aesthetically (Teaford 2000). During the 1960s and 70s the negative opinions about urban renewal prevailed over positive ones and the program ended in 1974 (Teaford 2000).

One of the opponents to urban renewal was urban scholar Jane Jacobs, who argued that the urban renewal program destroyed rather than stimulated the diversity of the urban (Jacobs 1961). The ideas of Jacobs are well coined in the following lines of Teaford:

*"According to Jane Jacobs, large-scale schemes and the sudden infusion of massive federal funding could not create vitality in the city. Only gradual, small-scale investment could nurture the rich diversity essential to a lively urban hub. To Jacobs, cities were organic, living entities that needed to be observed, and planners had to act on the basis of these observations and not simply impose the unfounded theories of "city beautiful" advocate Daniel Burnham, modernist Le Corbusier or garden city proponent Ebenezer Howard"* (Teafor, 2000)

As a counterpart to these top-down urban renewal projects a movement of bottom-up strategies emerged in which neighborhood residents could play a major role.

Furthermore, a point of critique against urban renewal was the removal of the historic identity of American cities. There was a claim for progress and that meant getting rid of the baggage from the past (Ford 2003). This entailed that parts of cities were demolished and changed for new uses such as highway construction projects, building of modernist office towers and slum clearance (Ford 2003). In the 1970s preservation of old buildings and structures came into the picture, and it became clear that old did not necessarily mean obsolete and that some sense of history could be used in the transformation process (Ford 2003).

The federal government faced the critique in 1974 and combined the urban renewal program with the Great Society's Model Cities Scheme into the new Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program (Teaford 2000). The main beneficiaries of this program were supposed to be low- and moderate-income residents. The main issues in this program were similar to previous ones : to get financial support for clearance or rehabilitation of slum buildings; but here grants were also issued for the development of neighborhood centers, non-profit economic development schemes, building code enforcement, energy conservation, varied public works projects and public services (Teaford 2000). Complementing the CDBG was the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program authorized by Congress in 1977 (Teaford 2000), and UDAG could be used for almost any private development that produced new jobs and increased local tax revenues (Teaford 2000). Like the urban renewal program, the ability of these programs to serve the poor has been questioned. Many of the used strategies were dealing with growth and prestigious projects and to some extent the residents of the affected areas were forgotten. The cities and their local governments were very eager to get economic growth and development agencies allocated federal funds for glitzy downtown projects, while at the same time claiming that the new enterprises could secure jobs for the low-income residents (Teaford 2000).

### 5.0.1 Baltimore Inner Harbor

The Charles Center was only the beginning of the revitalization of Baltimore's down town harbor area. In the late 1970s the inner harbor of Baltimore was redeveloped into a commercial and leisure center combined with office space. The development of the Inner Harbor was also a private-public partnership supported with different

federal funds and in relation to the building of the Baltimore Hyatt hotel; it received Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG), among other things.

The Inner Harbor area is a huge area which today consists of many different localities that have been developed since 1980 and until now. Thereby, the transformation of the Inner Harbor has been a long process which still continues today; it comprises several components, like Harborplace (from 1980) a modern retail and restaurant complex, National Aquarium (from 1981) Maryland's largest tourist destination, the baseball stadium Oriole Park (from 1992) and the M&T Bank Football Stadium (from 1998). Besides that the harbor leisure-scape consists of the Maryland Science Center, the old power plant which has been transformed into shops and other facilities and finally the USS Constellation, a navy boot transformed into a tourist attraction. On top of that several hotel and office spaces are placed at the Inner Harbor.

Combining the many different activities is a broad, brick promenade only for pedestrians. This promenade can be seen as a huge public space which invites to stroll along the harbor and to visit the different activities - or a place to sit and relax. The harbor area in Downtown Baltimore is the main attraction, being both a public open space and a major commercial and cultural attraction (Ford 2003). Larry Ford (2003: 281) goes as far as saying that Downtown Baltimore has become the quintessential "city as a theme park" for the greater Baltimore-Washington urban region. This



Fig. 97 and 98: Baltimore Inner Harbor (Photo: Iben Schrøder)

means that the Inner Harbor is the place where suburban families go on weekends to visit the aquarium or the football stadium, and it is the place tourists visit when in Baltimore.

In many ways the revitalization of the harbor front has been a success. The harbor front is an attractive area for visitors and locals to use, with interesting attractions and a pedestrian, friendly atmosphere. But the lighthouse of Baltimore is facing difficulties. The tall office buildings placed at the harbor front are not filled anymore - when you look from the second floor and further up, you see many office spaces are empty and not used. The businesses are mowing out and what is left is a tourist attraction. The inner harbor is a leisure and tourist attraction, and one of its downsides is that it can not offer much to the residents of the city. It brands itself as a tourist attraction, but its grounding in the local communities bordering the Inner Harbor is lacking. The idea of creating a harbor front as both a public space and a major commercial and cultural attraction is very good, but it does not seem entirely successful, because local activities like education facilities with the potential to attract locals to go there are missing.



fig. 99: Baltimore Inner Harbor (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)
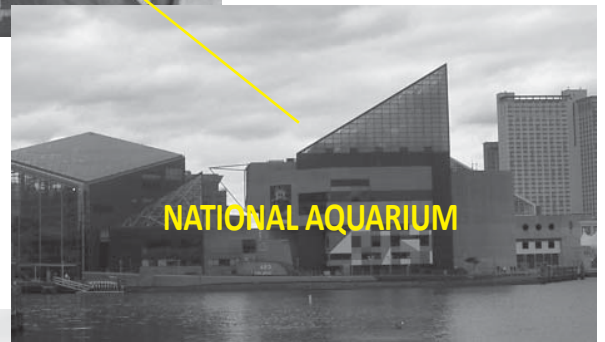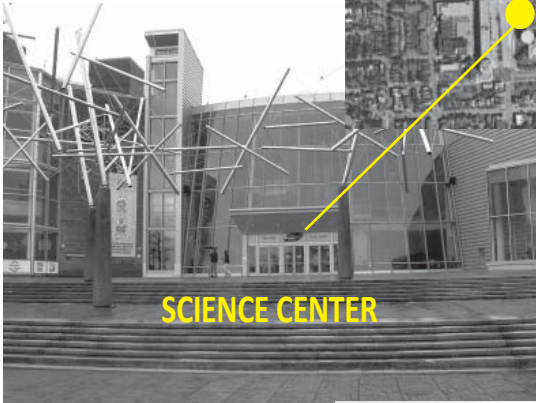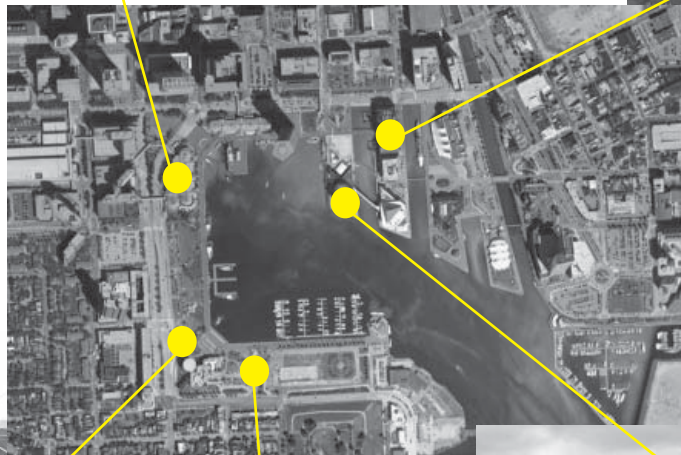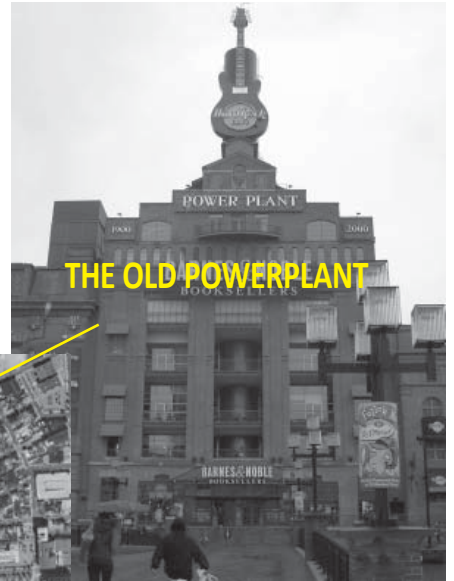
Fig. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104 and 105: Some of the different activities at the Inner Harbor
(Map:  Google Earth, Image © 2008 Sanborn, Image U.S. Geological Survey © 2008 Tele
Atlas; photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

**5.0.2 Neighborhood Design Center**

The Neighborhood Design Center operates in Baltimore City and the Prince George's County area between Baltimore and Washington. It is an organization with an overall goal to improve livability and quality of life in low and moderate-income neighborhoods. Its projects involve helping community groups to strengthen their neighborhoods by improving blocks and homes, renovating parks and school grounds, reclaiming abandoned structures for new community uses, and improving neighborhood commercial districts (Neighborhood design center 2008).

This non-profit organization started in 1968 and provides pro-bono design and planning services in support of community-sponsored initiatives. The organization mobilizes volunteer architects, planners, landscape architects, engineers and other design professionals who donate their professional services to help different community groups (Neighborhood design center 2008).

The organization has three areas under which they have been doing more than 1,800 projects since the start. They offer architectural, site and graphic design services in relation to a variety of tasks, assistance with planning and master plan development is available, and an educational aspect in the form of workshops and seminars aiming at educating the public about the value of good design and planning is also offered (Neighborhood design center 2008).

Some of the projects under the Neighborhood Design Center are dealing with the construction and improvement of public space. An example of a project in this category is the Amazing Port Street Sacred Commons – a meditative garden and labyrinth situated on what used to be a vacant lot behind the Amazing Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church in East Baltimore. This community garden is made from recycled bricks and telephone poles and planted and decorated by children in the neighborhood (The Sun 2007).

Another issue that the Neighborhood Design Center deals with is the creation of better housing. Such a project is the Chesapeake Habitat for Humanity where traditional row brick houses, which  have been abandoned and are in a very bad state, are renovated in order to become affordable housing for low income residents who would have had difficulties in affording a house otherwise.

A third issue is to create safety in the different communities. An example of this is the Harlem Park Safety Plan where the focus was to identify Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (Neighborhood design center 2008). This resulted among others in the improvement of the open spaces.

The Neighborhood Design Center is a local organization that, using a bottom-up strategy, supports local communities in poor, low-resource, declining neighborhoods through professionals doing volunteer work and funding. The aim is to help the residents in poor neighborhoods to improve their quality of life. The approach of the NDC is very engaging and is a clear contrast to the work of e.g. EBDI. However, because of the very local nature of the projects, they seem to disappear or matter less in the big picture. An overall strategy or plan for how to approach poor neighborhoods seems to be lacking.





Fig. 106 and 107: The Harlem Park Safety Program is about brining safety to the neighborhood through environmental design and the Chesapeak Habitat for Humanity Rowhouse Renovation Program is about creating affordable housing to low income earners (Photo: Neighborhood Design Center, 2008)
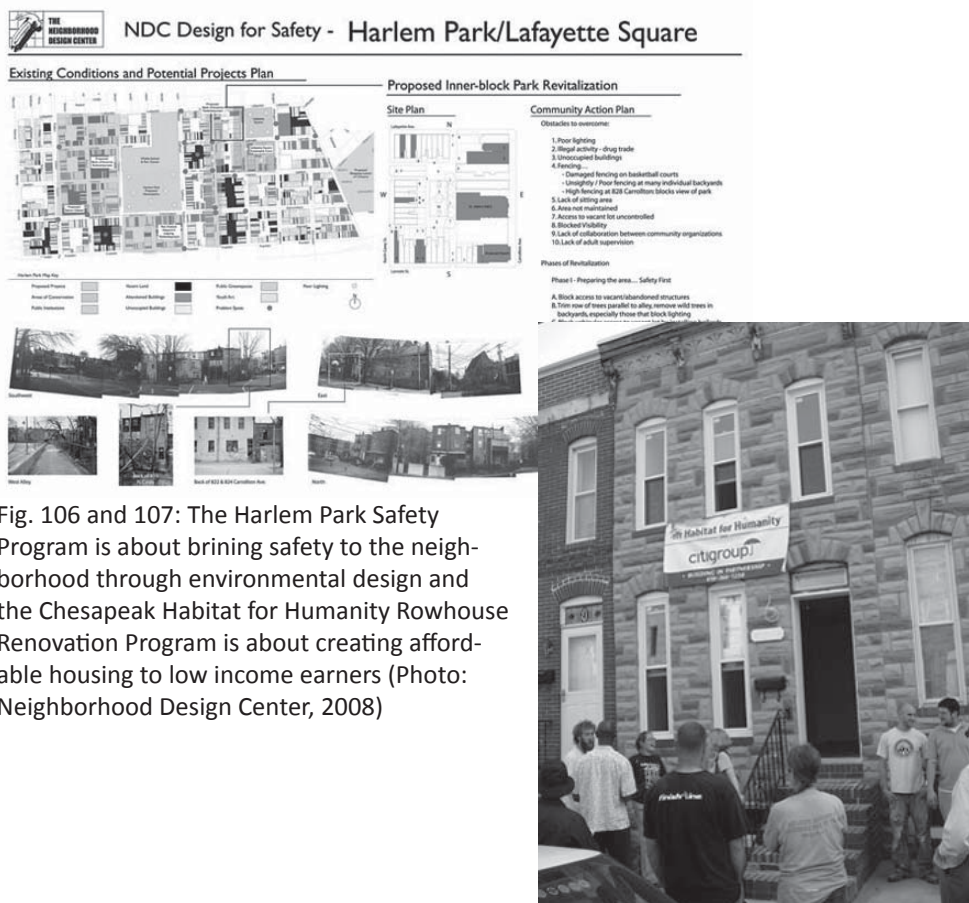
### 5.0.3 Parks & People

Another project in Baltimore working with declining territories from a bottom-up perspective is the NGO nonprofit organization Parks and People formed in 1984, which also operates at a local level, attempting to make changes at the community level. This group works with recreation and park issues, where a lot of work is put into neighborhood greening in declining territories. Parks and People want to improve the quality of life in Baltimore's neighborhoods, helping to better the physical, social and environmental quality of neighborhoods through greening activities and forming networks among communities to sustain natural resources (Parks & People 2008).

Fig. 108 and 109: Community Gardens by Parks & People (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

One vital concern of the Parks & People Foundation is to develop a "comprehensive strategy for revitalizing neighborhoods that suffer from population loss, vacant housing, inadequate maintenance of vacant land and small parks" (Parks & People 2000). The goal is to transform the vacant lots in Baltimore into valuable green space and thereby help neighborhoods revitalize themselves. In order to deal with these abandoned houses and the creation of vast areas of open space, the Parks & People Foundation proposed a public-private partnership that took care of the greening of underserved, inner-city areas and restored vacant lots by creating neighborhood gardens and green spaces, planting street trees, and establishing tree nurseries in 1997 (Parks & People 2002).

This proposal was the concept of "adopt a lot" where a community adopts a vacant lot and transforms the vacant area into a usable, open space often with vegetable and flower gardens. As of 1999, about 200 community groups had officially adopted a vacant lot (Parks & People 2000). The community group has a one-year contract according to which it is responsible for maintaining the property, and this contract is negotiated each year. The adopt-a-lot property is borrowed from the city government, and the city has the right to get the property back for its own purpose any time, with a 30-days notice (Parks & People 2000). This means that no permanent structures are meant to be constructed. The Parks & People Foundation provides assistance to community groups by helping to green the spaces and by providing technical assistance and training to the community groups (Parks & People 2000).

The adopt-a-lot program is a proactive approach to land use management and according to the Parks & People foundation, this kind of approach is essential in order to cope with the changing urban landscape. It is a local, place-based bottom-up strategy: a strategy of how to use vacant lots on a temporary basis, by using the areas to improve the neighborhoods, while being in a transition period. But the Parks & People would like a more overall strategic plan for the management of the vacant lots. Today, the group is very aware that "the management of small open spaces, particularly vacant lots, is highly fragmented, decentralized, poorly planned, and inadequately monitored in Baltimore" (Parks & People 2000; 20). This means that the City clearly lacks a comprehensive strategy for addressing the management of these lots. A step in the right direction is the Vacant Lot Restoration Program (VLRP). This was established based on a need to have a citywide program offering training in community organizing and project implementation, technical and logistical assistance, plant materials and other help for residents who wished to create com-

munity managed open space, using vacant lots (Parks & People 2002). This program was established in 1998 between Parks & People and Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development and the goals were: 1.) to organize and strengthen community interest and capacity, 2.) to strengthen coordination among non-profit organizations; 3.) to formulate supportive public policies and improve coordination by city agencies, and 4.) to train and involve DHCD Neighborhood Service Center Staff (Parks & People, 2002).

The Parks & People does a lot for the citizens, trying to better the conditions of local residents. The Parks & People projects are very focused on the ecological aspects and the greening of neighborhoods, and often the "result" is the planting of a tree or planting of a garden. This gives a very one- sided view and it might be interesting to combine these greening strategies with more strategic considerations. This is related to the same point of critique raised against the Neighborhood Design Center, where there is a need for gathering all the local strategies into one inclusive plan in order to deal with territories undergoing negative urban development.

### 5.0.4 Watershed 263

I will give a bit more attention to a description of the Watershed 263 project, undertaken by Parks & People, among others. In 2004 Parks & People began working with the Watershed 263, in collaboration with other partners. Among the partners are the City of Baltimore, Parks & People Foundation, Baltimore Ecosystem Study, U.S. Forest Service (USFS), and Maryland Port Administration. Watershed 263 is an area covering 11 neighborhoods in west and southwest Baltimore City, and it comprises a 930 acre storm sewer watershed. The term stormshed is used to describe an area where rain water is channeled into storm drains and a network of underground pipes. On the whole, the city of Baltimore consists of three streams: Gwynns Falls, Jones Falls and Hering Run, which the watersheds are a part of. Watershed 263 is a part of the Gwynns Falls stream.

The Watershed 263 is an urbanized area with different functions such as mixed residential, commercial, industrial, institutional and open space land uses. Furthermore, the area has more than 2,000 vacant lots (Folder on Watershed 263).In many places the soil and water of watershed 263 are polluted and particularly the vacant lots have contaminated soil. As a consequence, the quality of life is bad. Parks & People made a survey in the watershed area which showed that almost three-quarters of the inhabitants said they would move away from their neighborhood, if giv-

Fig. 110 and 111: Local volunteers and Parks & People are creating community garden at vacant lots in Warershed 263 (Photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

en the opportunity (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland). This is related to the fact that the watershed 263 is home to primarily low-income residents. Finally, a characteristic structure running through the watershed is the mile-long interstate highway "highway to nowhere" which does not have an ending or a beginning but just cuts the area in half.

The purpose of the work done in the watershed 263 was "to implement a watershed restoration and greening strategy with active community participation that will measurably improve water quality and quality of life" (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland) and to utilize urban forestry to improve quality, revitalize inner-city neighborhoods and enhance quality of life in these communities (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland). In the watershed 263 eight projects of various kinds have been conducted. Among other things, these projects have been dealing with tree planting, maintenance of trees along a "greenway", cleaner vacant lots and tree wells, reducing litter, creating bio-filtration systems, creating and beautifying green spaces, improving parks, increasing recycling, and supporting
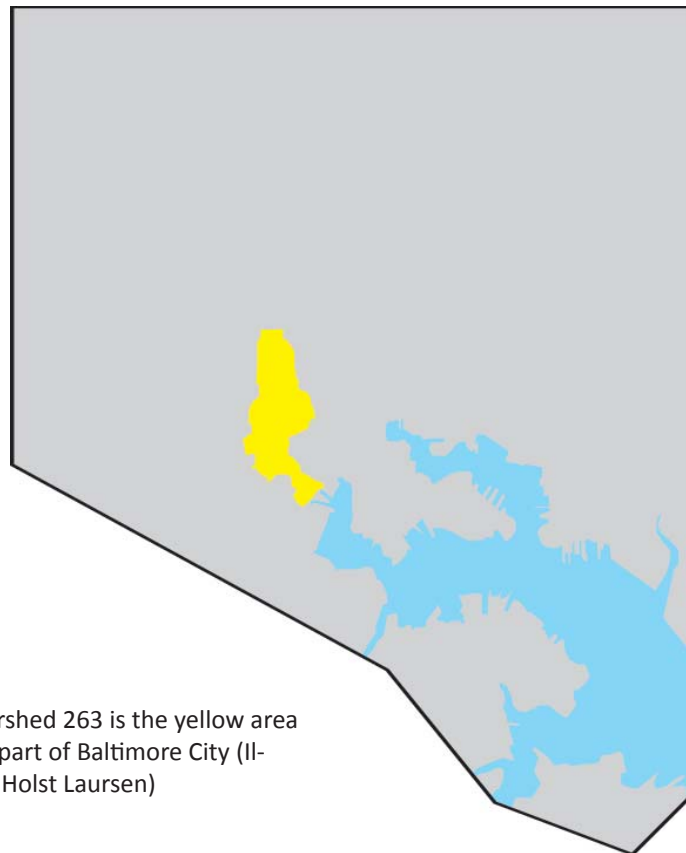


Fig. 112: Watershed 263 is the yellow area in the eastern part of Baltimore City (Illustration: Lea Holst Laursen)

community stewardship and involvement and asphalt removal and greening at local schools (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland). Furthermore, they work with the establishment of a Watershed Ecology Center and broad-based education - and outreach activities as well as monitoring of storm drains to measure water quality improvements (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland).

Apart from the ecological perspective, the work done in watershed 263 also has social implications by strengthening participation, education and research objectives. Parks & People and other groups run programs of environmental education to encourage young people to appreciate nature and become stewards in their own watershed neighborhoods (Watershed 263 Project Baltimore, Maryland).

The work done by Parks & People in watershed 263 is an extensive greening and urban ecology project. With few means improvements in the watershed have been made which are also improving the quality of life of the residents. Furthermore, attempts have been made to encourage the residents to take on responsibility toward their neighborhood and to participate in educational offers. A point of critique could, however, be that the activities are only directed towards greening of neighborhoods.

**5.0.5 Baltimore Ecosystem study (BES)**
Apart from Parks & People, a strong player in the watershed 263 project is the Baltimore Eco-system Study (BES). BES looks at the watershed and the entire Baltimore city as one ecosystem that changes over time. By seeing the metropolis as an ecosystem, sustainability is connected with city life and the goal is an improved city. The Baltimore region is changing in population, density and distribution, with land abandonment in the central city and consumption of land on the urban fringe, and these are some of the changes that the ecosystem approach can contain, according to BES. The watersheds can be used as the stage from which to understand the reciprocal interactions of the social, biophysical and built environments and from which ecological experiments can be conducted on the effect of neighborhood revitalization, among other things (Baltimore Ecosystem Study 2008).

The Baltimore Ecosystem study has three guiding questions or goals which the project attempt to answer or investigate which are: 1) What are the fluxes of energy and matter in the Baltimore metropolitan ecosystem, and how do they change over the long term 2) How does the spatial structure of ecological, physical, infrastruc-

tural and socio-economic factors in the metropolis affect ecological processes 3) How can urban residents develop and use an understanding of the metropolis as an ecological system, to improve the quality of their environment and their daily lives (Baltimore Ecosystem Study 2008).

One of the key features in working with urban ecology is the term patch dynamics. The theory of patch dynamics "addresses the structure and function of spatial heterogeneity in ecological systems at any scale. Patch dynamics theory highlights the mosaic or graded structure of spatial heterogeneity, the flows among patches, the role of patch boundaries, and the temporal changes in individual patches as well as the entire mosaic" (Baltimore Ecosystem Study 2008). Urban areas vary over space and can be mapped as patchworks. However, the composition, behavior and management of patches change over time and the different patches are interlinked. A patch dynamics approach is being used to detect, quantify and assess changes in spatial patterns of social, infrastructural and ecological processes through time in Baltimore.

The Baltimore Ecosystem study is an urban ecological research project that explores metropolitan Baltimore as an ecological system ranging from projects and research in the fields of biological, physical and social sciences. BES is funded by the National Science Foundation whose three main goals are research, education and community engagement.

One of the areas of interest for the Baltimore Ecosystem study is to connect ecology and urban design which is done in collaboration with Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, New York, among others. In this work, the approach of patch dynamics is also used where it addresses the issue "how patch dynamics can be translated to the fields of urban design, where it encourages a connected, systems approach to design, and stimulates designs that recognize the dynamic nature of the urban mosaic." (Baltimore Ecosystem Study 2008)

In various scales from the large scales dealing with e.g. traffic lines to the very local scale at the neighborhood or the individual block level, the urban design question has been addressed regarding how to turn the city into a life support system and more specifically how to detain and treat storm water in order to retain nitrogen and nutrients in an urban watershed (Baltimore Ecosystem Study 2008).

By combining ecology and urbanity an interesting interdisciplinary project appears, the strength of which is that urban interventions are not just physical but enter into an ecological and sustainable sphere. It is interesting how urban areas are seen as patches and that urban design has to be processual.

**5.0.6 Living Cities**

Living Cities is a nationwide, philanthropic, corporate, and public sector partnership - a consortium of large funds and financial institutions - engaged in the transformation of under-resourced neighborhoods. The Living Cities organization has worked with the review of 23 inner cities across America. The goal of the organization is to transform the lives of low-income people and the communities in which they live, by bringing the power of mainstream markets to urban neighborhoods and residents who are historically left behind. Furthermore, Living Cities support different approaches that can strengthen the role of American cities as engines for economic prosperity (Living Cities 2008). Thereby, it is an organization that does not only operate in Baltimore, but gives financial aid to many different projects across America. This makes it a different intervention from the other interventions listed here. I think it is an important actor in the handling of urban decline, which is why I have chosen to incorporate it in this list of interventions.

Specifically in Baltimore, the Living Cities Foundation has, in the period 1991 to 2005, donated more than 13.1 million dollars in loans and grants to the development of Baltimore, which has contributed to the transformation and construction of 5,015 housing units, among other things. (Living Cities 2008). At present, Living Cities is supporting the EBDI project, which will be described later on.

As seen above, the Living Cities Foundation mainly donates money to various projects. The Foundation, thereby, makes it possible to initiate different projects in areas where, traditionally, resources are very scarce. The foundation supports the projects they find interesting and, thus, the foundation has a great deal of power, being able to choose the projects they like. The mission of the organization seems to be to create better housing along with economical growth, and one could question whether these two factors fit together. At least it is seen in the urban renewal projects, among others places that growth seems to create gentrification which eliminates the low-income groups.

**5.0.7 EBDI – East Baltimore Development Inc.**
The East Baltimore Development Inc. (EBDI) is a non-profit public-private partner-ship created in 2003. There are quite a few important actors involved such as the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Johns Hopkins Institutions, the Goldseeker Foun-dation, the Greater Baltimore Committee and the Federal, State and City govern-ments. The EBDI is a quasi-government institution, with access to governmental power without being the government. Therefore, the EBDI has the right to change zoning regulatives in the area, among other things.

The EBDI is a project that transforms 88 acres of land near the Johns Hopkins Hos-pital in the eastern part of the city. This old working class neighborhood has been declining for years, and about 70% of the built-up area is vacant. This project is a large-scale $800 million urban redevelopment project, creating new urban mix-in-come housing and office-space for the Johns Hopkins hospital, among others (EBDI 2008). The scheme covers both the construction of new residential areas as well as preserving and transforming some of the traditional Baltimore brick row-houses. Besides that, the redevelopment scheme will develop a biotechnology park next to the hospital. This biotechnology park will provide room for medical/technology up-starts as well as industry giants to further develop the medical and biotechnological knowledge which Baltimore is famous for. Furthermore, the redevelopment project will contain a community school campus, a community health clinic, recreational and retail facilities, and there are plans to have a light rail stop in the neighborhood, making it easy to commute to e.g. Washington D.C.

On the EBDI homepage it says that "what distinguishes EBDI's revitalization project from other large-scale development efforts is its commitment to "Responsible De-velopment." This development approach combines economic, community, and hu-man development strategies in ways that seek to ensure maximum benefit from the revitalization efforts for area residents, businesses, and the surrounding com-munities" (EBDI 2008). Among other things, the EBDI offers homeowners affected from the project an average of $150,000 in relocation benefit packages and renters $50,000 in order to find a new home. Other NGO's, however, claim that the above amount does not make the homeowners able to afford a new home somewhere else, and that this project, like the severely criticized urban renewal program, does not take care of the poor residents in the area. It seems to be a top-down project that just makes the local population move away with less hope of being able to come back, due to a high rent in the new housing.

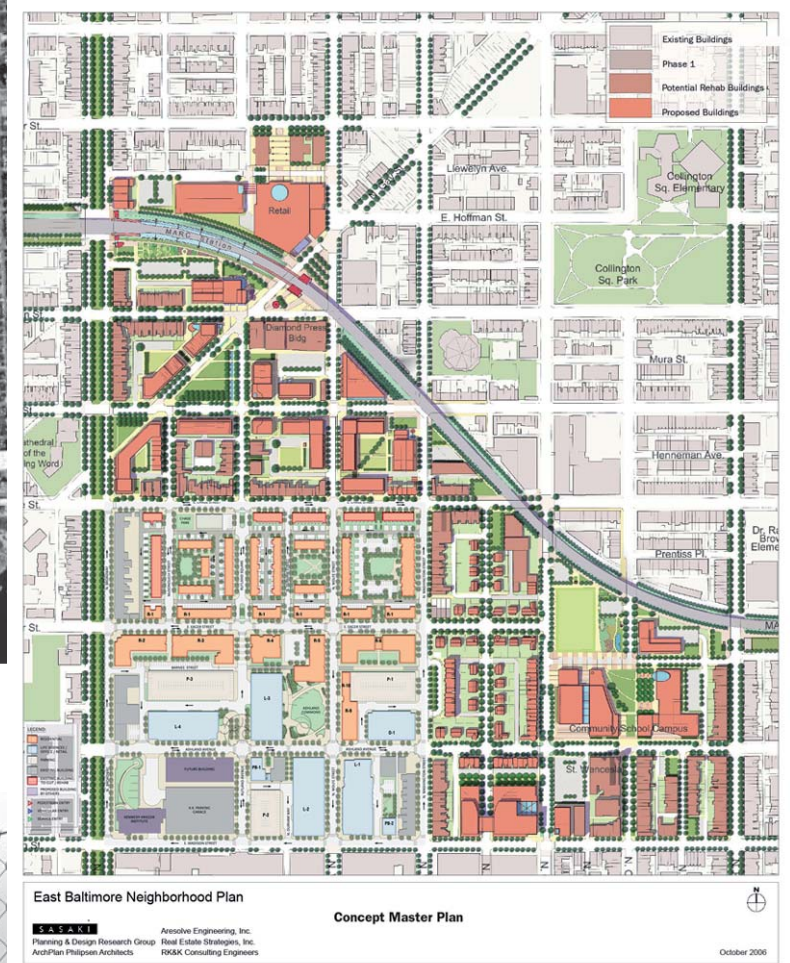East Baltimore Neighborhood Plan

**Concept Master Plan**
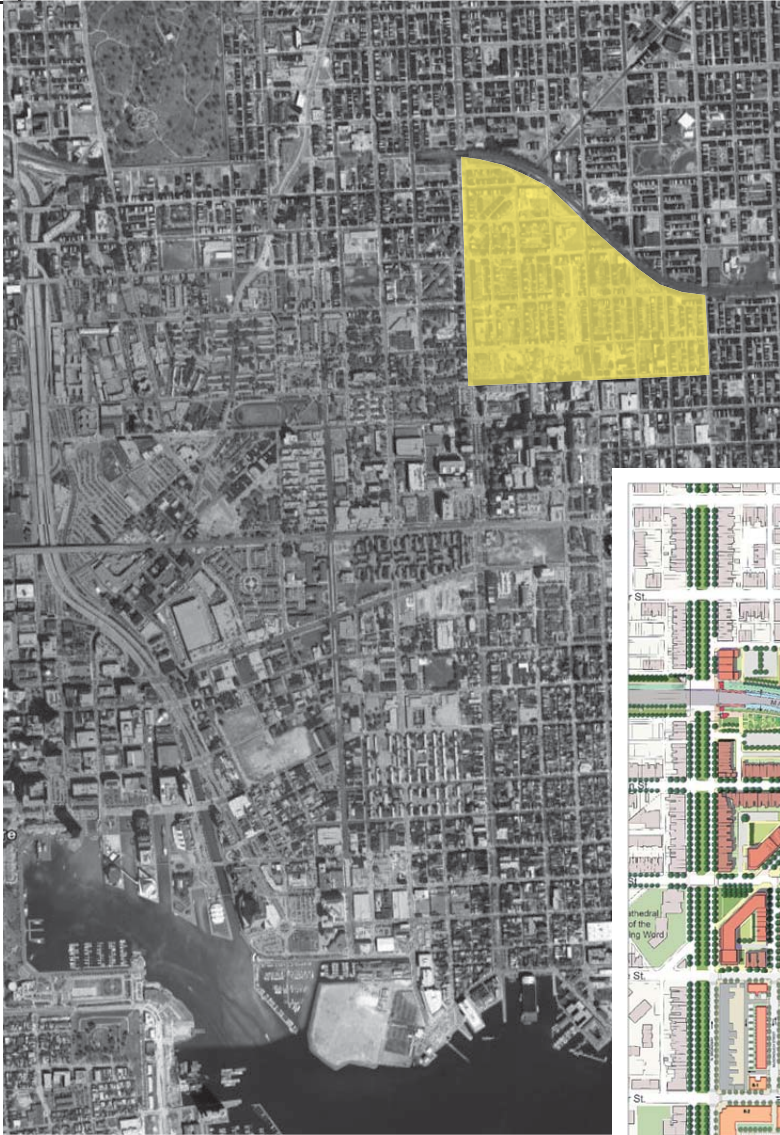


Fig. 113, 114 and 115: The EBDI project site, the
concept plan and the construction site (Photo:
Map: Google Earth, Image © 2008 Sanborn,
Image U.S. Geological Survey © 2008 Tele Atlas;
map: EBDI, 2008 and, photo: Lea Holst Laursen)

The EBDI is a very interesting and grand project that is attempting to change the condition of a single neighborhood in Baltimore. The potential of the neighborhood is its physical attachment to the Johns Hopkins Hospital, and this is exploited in order to create a lively and attractive neighborhood. The Johns Hopkins would like to expand and also to have a surrounding neighborhood which is not decaying, therefore, it joined other important Baltimore agents to make this project work. It is a very expensive project and even the EBDI's chief of real estate, Officer Christopher Shea (meeting April 16th 2007), does not think it is possible to imagine several of this kind of developments in Baltimore city. He stated in a conversation I had with him that this is a once in a life time project, because the municipality of Baltimore does not have unlimited amounts of money and it would seem difficult to raise this amount of money again from funds. All the structures of Baltimore City are in a very bad state, yet without the financial support from the EBDI it is very unlikely that it will be possible to adapt similar projects to other sites in Baltimore.

**5.0.8 Summary – Discussion of Politics and Interventions**
When taking a look at which initiatives have been conducted in Baltimore, it is possible to line up some areas of interest. Generally one can say that the projects in Baltimore are approached in two ways - the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. The bottom-up strategies seem to rest on the ideas of Jane Jacobs, emphasizing the need to respect the urban context and to preserve older structures and patterns (Teaford 2000). The top-down projects concern huge revitalizing schemes developed from the tradition of urban renewal. But even though there are still wishes about grand projects such as sports stadiums, contemporary urban revival schemes tend to be more small-scale and selective projects. They do not demolish a whole city quarter any more, but in stead mend parts of the urban fabric, respecting the past. Planners and architects do no longer seek to create a whole new city and thereby discard the old one, but instead they seek to bring out the best in the existing urban environment (Teaford 2000).

The bottom-up approach involves local NGO's and community groups, like Parks & People and Neighborhood Design Center, making place-specific initiatives with focus on issues like sustainability and quality of life. Apart from the more "soft" values these projects have another thing in common, which is the importance of local anchoring. The projects have to be undertaken in collaboration with local community groups, creating engagement and ownership of the different projects. The locally anchored projects seem to have an interesting strength, when they are conducted

| | TOP-DOWN | BOTTOM UP |
|---|---|---|
| The Charles Center - Urban Renewal | + | |
| Baltimore Inner Harbor | + | |
| Neighborhood Design Center | | + |
| Parks & People | | + |
| Watershed 263 | | + |
| Baltimore Ecosystem study (BES) | | + |
| Living Cities | + | |
| EBDI – East Baltimore Development Inc. | + | |

Fig. 116: the table shows very generalized what kind of project the different interventions are – is it a top-down project or a bottom-up project

as co-operative efforts between professionals and locals. In these projects the role of the professionals becomes a mixture of mediator and expert, which seems to be the case in the work of the Neighborhood Design Center, among others.  Thereby, the planner or architect does not only focus on the design aspect but also has to become a focal point for the different actors and agents and mediate between them. The weakness of these local NGO projects is that they seem to lack a connection to other initiatives. Many different NGO groups in Baltimore do roughly more or less the same, and a united strategy could be useful, as the absence of a united strategy makes it difficult to get the needed awareness. Furthermore, the impact of the different bottom-up projects can sometimes be hard to find, because the projects happen on a very small and local scale. The Parks & People foundation indicates this lack of an overall strategy in relation to its adopt-a-lot program and as a consequence, it has made an attempt to set up a larger frame but this frame could be developed further.

Finally, an interesting aspect of much of the NGO work is the use of the landscape and the temporary use of spaces. It is especially Parks & People that deals with temporary use in their adopt-a-lot-program where they improve a neighborhood with few means and prepare the land for new uses. But the use of the landscape is also interesting. Baltimore has previously been a high density area where the built structures were prevailing. Now this has shifted and the landscape becomes a dominant structure; instead of just ignoring this, the NGO's use the landscape actively to create new types of urban landscapes, contributing to improving the living

conditions of the residents. E.g. Parks & People and the Danish student project use the landscape and sustainability as an optic through which to deal with the problems and issues of negative urban development. The use of landscape in a more expanded way is conducted by Baltimore Eco system Study where research and ecology are combined with urban design, looking at how ecology can be integrated in the designing of the watershed 263.

The top-down approach is linked to private-public partnerships that aim to revitalize a specific area, with access to big budgets. Generally, these projects can be said to have some kind of urban growth as premise for their work; this means that these projects do not focus only on the quality of life, but may be more concerned with development and progress. These redevelopment strategies show that the planning of cities in the US is often dependent on huge monetary investments. The purpose of the strategies seems to be to change the urban decline to urban growth. By using traditional architectural, political, economical and planning principles, the objective has been to reverse shrink to growth; the way in which this objective can be met in relation to the use of architectural principles would have to be by means of new developmental inventions. American planning has always been connected with growth, and these growth-scenarios have leaned heavily on the idea of progress, control and designation of growth, where the growth paradigm has been the leading ideal in relation to city development. In the pursuit of growth it can be difficult to obtain local anchoring, which was the strength of the NGO's. When looking at the Inner Harbor Project, it seems as though local commitment and application are missing. Activities of a more permanent character which appeal to the locals seem to be missing, because today the harbor front is a space only used by tourists or in relation to specific activities, such as the Sunday football or baseball matches and thereby local orientation to the place is sparse.

As described above, bottom-up and top-down strategies can be seen as opposites. To determine which strategy is the best is not possible, because both approaches have strengths and weaknesses. Thus, neither of them can stand alone and it seems as though they should be fused into a united plan for handling negative urban development. Here, the municipality could be seen as the connecting tissue. There seems to be no overall strategy that works purposefully in this field of urban decline, both in relation to the various bottom-up projects, but also in regards to the top-down-projects and the interplay between bottom-up and top-down. Here, an overall municipal or city plan could be comprehensive in order for all the different

projects to work together. As I see it, an overall strategy represents a very central area of concern that should be worked with.

That these two approaches (bottom-up and top-down) are prevailing in the U.S. is due to the fact that the role of the municipality is minimal. The municipality is part of the private-public partnerships and supports the work of the NGO's but independently it does very little work in Baltimore's declining neighborhoods. This means that the municipality seems invisible in Baltimore. This is related to the American planning tradition, where projects are initiated through funds and public-private partnerships, as the municipal planning agencies always have had a minimal role. Thereby, is seems as though an overall attitude regarding what has to be done is missing and in addition to this, a frame with guidelines for the development is lacking. The municipality of Baltimore deals with plans regarding future developments, but it does not have the means to carry them out without help from others, and the declining areas seem to suffer from this, in particular. However, the municipality operates on very low scale with projects such as the street cleaning project Clean Sweep Program, which cleans neighborhood areas on a monthly basis. Another one is the Baltimore Clippers that is responsible for cutting the grass on a variety of open spaces.

**After Urbanism**
In order to give further depth to the above discussion, I will include a student project that works more strategically with negative urban development in Baltimore. This student project is conducted by students from my own research unit, and I participated in the research phase and the study trip to Baltimore and have been part of the discussion conducted in relation to this.

In 2004 students from Architecture and Design joined the Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation and also worked with watershed 263 in Baltimore. The Danish project *After Urbanism* by Kirstine Iversen, Dorte Ringgaard Jensen and Christian Achermann expands the project of the watershed to also deal with urban decline. The project is of the opinion that the situation in Baltimore must be dealt with using radical approaches (Iversen et al 2004). They use a zoning strategy, which divides the watershed 263 into three zones: development zone, standby zone and empowerment zone.
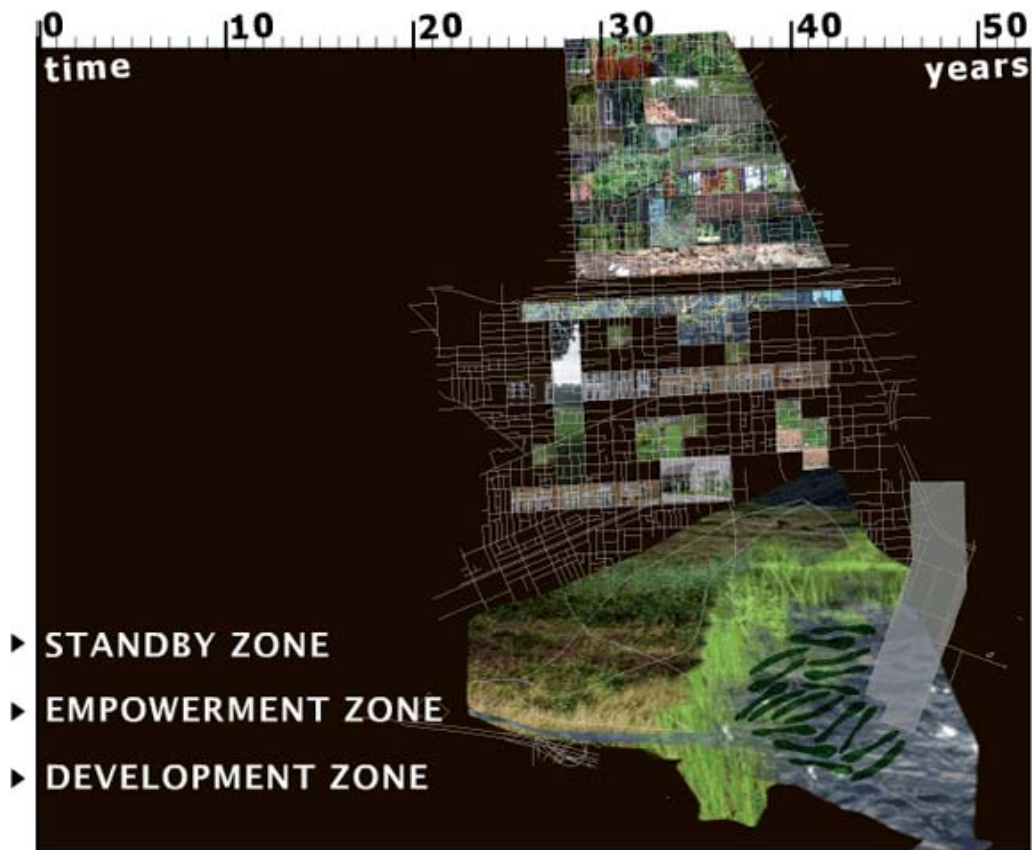
Fig. 117: The development over time in Watershed 263 (Illustration: Iversen et al 2004)

These three zones will then undergo a development scenario for a period of 50 years. The watershed is divided into the three zones by first letting each block in the watershed represent a piece. From this a map is developed, showing the degree of abandonment; from this map and from two existing boundaries, an abandoned railroad and the highway to nowhere, the area is divided into the three zones.

The standby zone placed in the northern part of the area is a neighborhood with poor conditions. Therefore, the standby zone is emptied out over time – setting the area on standby gathering potentials for future purposes. The idea is that the municipality is to encourage people to move out and into the empowerment zone (Iversen et al 2004). In the standby zone the self-grown landscape is taking over the built structures, transforming it into a wild urban landscape and the only thing done in this zone is to prevent pollution and danger.

The empowerment zone is placed in the middle of the area and here an intensification of the population takes place. In this zone resources are spent on revitalization, transforming the zone into a vibrant living area.

The last zone, the development zone, is at the south and is placed near the harbor and the city center. This is an old industrial area with favorable qualities. Here immediate development is happening: the proposed development is a leisure landscape which is linked to the sports and leisure activities at the inner harbor. It becomes a wetland with islands of different recreational and sports activities, among others a golf course (Iversen et al 2004).



Fig. 118: The division into three zones (Illustration: Iversen et al 2004)

The project shows a possible development scenario and its strength is that if new demands come up in the future, the areas can adapt to these changes. Especially the standby zone can enter into the urban life again, if necessary.

The project takes a radical approach, as stated, and even though there are many interesting elements in the strategy there are also aspects that can be questioned. Specifically a social aspect seems to be lacking: can the municipality just rearrange people and demand that they move out of their homes – do people not have the right to chose? Rather than seeing it as a finished design proposal, the project can be seen as the initiator of a discussion which seems to be necessary in overall declining areas.

Another issue this project raises is the discussion of density and the city – is the city a dense settlement? The project seems to see urbanism, like Louis Wirth, as a high density area which, in order to be a city, has to be dense – but what about a more low-density city or suburbs, are they not considered a city?

This project manages to gather all the initiatives into a united strategy, very successfully. The students question whether it has any effect to make different strategies without cohesion, and furthermore, they give the municipality the role of being active as mediator between all the different initiatives. This very Scandinavian approach seems to be needed in cases where a strategic plan or master plan could bring the different initiatives together.

**Demolition of Buildings**
As a small detour and concerning something that has not yet been mentioned, I will use a few lines in this summary to also  draw attention to the fact that, besides the above mentioned initiatives, another strategy in Baltimore and the U.S. is to make the city smaller by demolishing its empty buildings. In so doing, the phenomenon of vacant buildings can be considered "solved". In many American cities, a practiced strategy has been to demolish buildings and throw a fence around the lot. This is being done partly to prevent the abandoned sites being used for drug dealing. As an example, the city of Detroit in 1990 used $25 million on demolishing abandoned houses and structures and between 1978 and 1998 there were given 108,000 demolitions permits (www.US-census.gov). I mention this because it is an alternative which has not been the issue in Denmark yet, but which many municipal planners and politicians would like to adopt.

|  | State | Market | Civil society |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Scale** | Working as partner on the projects conducted by the market and is in a dialogue with the civil society | Working at a large scale with grand urban renewal and revitalization schemes | Working at a very local scale – a small delimited area with various bottom-up strategies |
| **Economical capital** | Working as partner on the projects conducted by the market and is in a dialogue with the civil society | Big scheme projects with huge budgets | Very low budgets. Is very much based on volunteer work and funding |
| **Physical capital/ Urban form** | Working as partner on the projects conducted by the market and is in a dialogue with the civil society | Are demolishing the existing fabric or parts of it in order to build new housing or office buildings. They incorporate parts of the existing by restoring Parts of the existing built structures. But the main goal is to create new areas | Makes small interventions in the existing fabric, often in the middle of decay and abandonment. Works with community gardens, restoration of single homes, greening of streets, schools and other public areas, ecological initiatives |
| **Socio-cultural capital/ software** | Working as partner on the projects conducted by the market and is in a dialogue with the civil society | Incorporate the socio-cultural aspects by designing new schools and public institutions, among other things. But the new housing in the revitalized areas are often too expensive for the re-housing of the existing inhabitants | Does a lot for the socially weakest. They are trying to better the living conditions in the different communities by improving the physical appearance, engaging the locals in improving the neighbourhoods and creating facilities and propositions of various character |

Fig. 119: Schematic overview over the effort in Baltimore

## 5.1 HANDLING NEGATIVE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN DENMARK

Just as in Baltimore, a number of initiatives have been taken in the Danish outskirts. In the following I will present and discuss some of the planning and urban design approaches that can currently be observed in declining Danish territories. These projects are mainly from the Municipality of Thisted but also from a few other Danish outskirts, due to the few project conducted in Thisted.

Denmark is known for having a strong welfare state with a tradition for welfare planning and equity[38]. Since the construction of the welfare state, the Danish planning system has tried to create equal conditions through out the country. Efforts were made to attain this with the regional development Act from 1958 that supported different business projects in the outskirts, and the Planning Act from the 1960s that attempted to create a hierarchy for development with the creation of city-patterns. In subsequent years, different strategies and policies have been launched. But in recent years the Danish welfare state is changing and under pressure, just like other welfare states.

The two latest National Planning reports *Denmark in Balance* (Dan.: Danmark i balance. Hvad skal der gøres?) from 2003 and *The New map of Denmark – spatial planning under new conditions* (dan: Det nye danmarkskort – planlægning under nye vilkår) from 2006 both deal with the spatial polarization that the H-City and the rotten banana, as explained in part I, express. Both planning reports state that Denmark is experiencing an increased polarization but each report describes and deals with the increased polarization in very different ways.

The 2006 national planning report *The New map of Denmark – spatial planning under new conditions* clearly considers the polarization of the Danish territory as an inevitable fact. Thereby, it seems as though the discourse has been sharpened in addition to the 2003 planning report. Because the preceding 2003 National Planning Report "A balanced Denmark" treats the increasingly uneven spatial development in Denmark in quite a different way: Here maximum spatial equality was supposed to be achieved through emphasis on cities as growth engines in a hierarchical National City network (with some extensions to neighbouring countries) (fig. 120). The spatial policy expressed in this model can be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile the welfarist ideal of territorial equity with a concept of cities as engines of economic growth.

On the contrary, the "New map of Denmark" divides the Danish territory into three categories according to regional growth potential (fig. 121). Areas with a growth index above national average are marked with a white circle, i.e. the urban region defined by the East-Jutland Motorway stretching from Fredericia, Kolding and Vejle in the South to Randers in the North, with Aarhus as its main centre of gravity and the Capital region of East Zealand around Copenhagen. Areas with a growth index below national average are shown hatched – these are all declining areas. The growth index for the rest of Denmark corresponds to the national average. Remarkably, the national planning report relates the varying growth potential to the geographical disposition of the Danish territory with two metropolitan regions, medium sized cities and towns with their hinterlands, and finally small town regions which do not have any towns with more than 20.000 inhabitants.
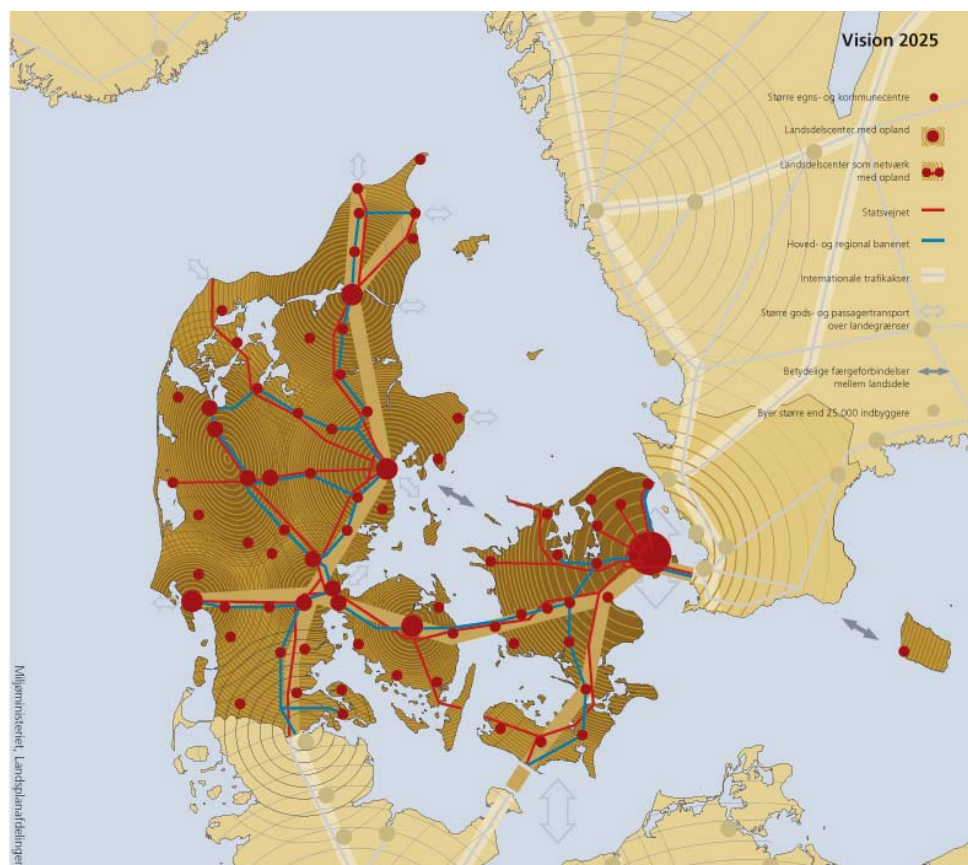


Fig. 120: "Denmark in Balance" National Planning Report 2003 (Danish Ministry of the Environment)
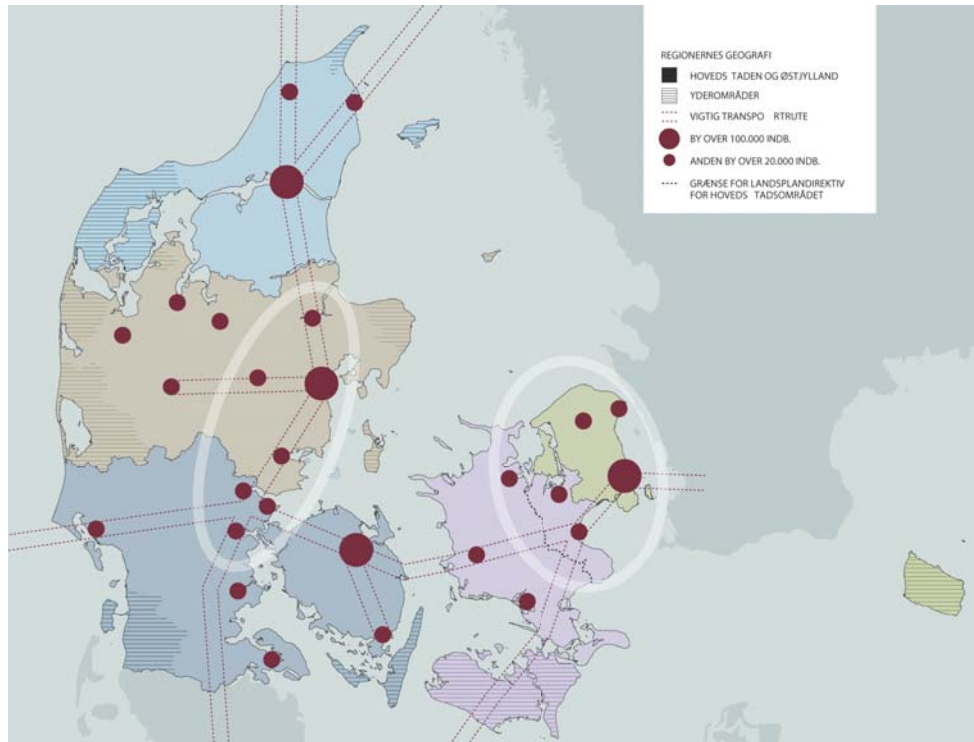
fig. 121: "The New Map of Denmark" National Planning Report 2006 (Danish Ministry of the Environment)

Based upon this division, the 2006 report prescribes a prioritized regional development of the territory. In other words, present national policy asks for differentiated planning strategies according to regional growth potential and geographical disposition. On the one hand, the Danish state seeks to encourage the development of an East Jutland urban corridor from Kolding in the South to Randers in the North and to ensure Copenhagen's position as a strong and competitive capital that attracts companies, jobs and citizens in a global competition. On the other hand, the Danish "small town regions", i.e. the declining geographic outskirts, are requested to emphasize "their natural qualities as an important potential for development" (The Danish Ministry of the Environment 2006: 19).[39] At the same time the report recognizes that "The small-town regions may [...] have more difficulty in spurring economic growth than other areas of Denmark and need specific monitoring."

The polarization between growing and declining areas in Denmark is not a discussion that only has been on the agenda for the last 10 years. Since the 1960s Danish national policy was to concentrate urban growth in central places in relation to a

hierarchical National City network. With the local government reform of 1970, municipal planning authority was significantly enlarged. Interestingly, the prospective of increased uneven spatial development as a consequence of this framework for planning was a hot topic in the Danish planning discourse already back in the 1970s. Some of the historical observations and arguments definitely strike a chord in the contemporary Danish debate.

**5.1.0 Local bottom-up projects**[40]
In Idom-Raasted near Holstebro in West Jutland, local citizens started their own village renewal project with a combined cultural center, café, shopping, library, wellness, sport and kindergarten all under one roof. The idea of a multi functional community center was born when the local supermarket closed a few years ago. The village inhabitants collected 500.000 DKK in a two week period, bought the building and converted it on their own initiative. The citizens of Idom-Raasted hope to have found a remedy for population shrinkage by means of concerted local action. Over and above the functional improvement for the village, these initiatives have a great symbolic value signaling a pro-active local community to existing and possible future inhabitants (DR2 2007; Idom-Raasted 2008).

Another Danish example of bottom-up local developments is the ecological community Friland (free country) in Feldballe, Djursland. Friland experiments on the one hand with an ecological build-it-yourself concept and on the other hand with the construction of a virtual community on the internet (DR 2008).

In a Danish context it is unlikely that these private initiatives can and will replace public planning. However, public planning can, and ought to, use these informal initiatives as a resource for territorial development to a higher degree. This means on the one hand that public planning must function as a mediator between space pioneers and official policy to some extent. On the other hand, legal structures must be revised and eventually adapted to facilitate experimental local approaches to urban development.

One offshoot for future integration of space pioneers could be the Rural-District-Program (Danish: landdistriktsprogram). This recent state initiative rests on a "bottom-up" model and aims at creating better living conditions and quality of life. The Rural-District-Program lies under the ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries and will invest 6, 2 billion DKK (partly EU-financed) in Danish rural districts in the

period 2007-2013. The program supports the development of rural districts and villages with focus on increased employment, better competitiveness within articles of food and the forest sector, sustainable landscapes, and attractive living conditions. Through the establishment of Local Action Groups (Danish: Lokale Aktions Grupper= LAG) networks between businesses, local organizations, local citizens and public authority are to be created. These network groups will contribute to local development strategies and also initiate local action in rural districts.



Fig. 122: The new community center in Idom-Raasted (Photo: Idom-Raasted, 2008)

### 5.1.1 Collaborative Rural Area Renewal[41]

"Village-strategies" is an experiment in collaborative rural area renewal in the framework of the Area Renewal Act[43] (Danish: byfornyelsesloven) which is currently under development in the former Spøttrup municipality (now Skive municipality) in West Jutland. The aim is to develop four communities of different size, Balling, Oddense, Lem and Rødding both individually and in relation to each other – using a network strategy. A number of projects in the four communities discussed below will be realized in the period 2006-2011.

To begin with, each village established a dialogue forum including a participant from the municipal planning department, and developed a village-profile, describing local strengths and weaknesses and future visions, which resulted in a project description which assigned the funding from the Area Renewal Act to a specific use. After that, the four villages entered a networked dialogue-forum in which they formulated

how they see the other three villages in order to test their respective internal vision against the external vision of their neighbors. As the process evolved, the common dialogue-forum also discussed superordinated municipal strategies such as how a new structure for the municipal school system could look. Finally, the four villages concertedly shared the available state funding – deciding together who gets how much for what. The village of Lem works with the theme "factory of Talent" (Danish: talentfabrikken) in connection with local association activities. Amongst other things, Lem plans to create a covered "culture court", suitable for different creative activities. The town of Balling intends to raise the educational level by transforming the old pharmacy into a community center, equipped with computers and other technological apparatus to offer IT-courses. In addition to that they created a people's park. The village of Rødding works with settlement and tourism and intends to create a cultural center (multi-culture-house) for multiple activities and, finally, Oddense works with being a village for art and culture.

The ambition of "Village-strategies" is to inspire other municipalities to go ahead with collaborative village development by showing that planning and urban design can make a difference – also in small communities. Remarkably, the four selected villages are not the ones that are facing the largest decrease in population development in Skive municipality. Skive recognizes that it does not have available resources to work with all localities[43]. Therefore the municipality chose to work with the communities that already show some kind of energy and local drive. The case of Skive is thus an example of prioritized local development according to selected criteria, in this case the presence of engaged local actors and stake holders.

Interestingly, the range of concrete projects reflects the ongoing cultural urbanization of the Danish rural districts. With their focus on cultural programs, the selected projects show a striking similarity to contemporary urban renewal projects. The project is unfinished and therefore difficult to evaluate as yet, but a holistic vision of the individual villages in their regional setting appears to be lacking. To activate the full potential of the Area renewal act, earlier experiences show that a broader spatial, social and cultural strategy is required. Adapted to the specific needs of shrinking rural districts this would mean a territorial development vision for the transformation of villages and landscapes, including targeted demolition strategies[44].

**5.1.2 Land of Possibilities[45]**

Initiated and mainly financed by the private foundation Realdania, the project "land of possibilities" (Danish: Mulighedernes land) specifically seizes the problem of shrinking rural districts as a design task (Mulighedernes Land 2008). Three shrinking municipalities, Thisted, Lolland and Bornholm, established a joined partnership under the patronage of the private foundation Realdania. The aim of the project is to look at the local potentials in the Danish rural areas and to develop new strategies for physical development of shrinking rural districts, with a point of departure in existing local resources. In many places, these local potentials include the surrounding scenic nature, but they also cover the production and downstream production of different crops and raw material, e.g. the Læsø salt production which has branded the entire island and also resulted in the construction of a spa with special salt treatments. From 2006-2012, Realdania plans to invest 100 million DKK in the realization of innovative architectural, urban design and landscape projects in the selected municipalities. These projects will have a demonstration-value so other municipalities can use the experiences created in these projects as inspiration.

The project focuses on the development of qualities which seem in short supply in cities, such as nature, space and peace and quiet. The rural districts will be investigated as a sustainable alternative to the city with different qualities and development possibilities (Mulighedernes Land 2008). As yet, the elaborated municipal strategies revolve around tourism, settlement and cultural heritage in some way or another. The municipality of Bornholm aims at developing tourism and strengthening settlement by further development of the existing natural and cultural qualities. Lolland concentrates on the development of localized potential and existing strengths in order to create unique local villages that are attractive for both settlement and tourism.

Finally, the municipality of Thisted focuses on quality enhancement in the villages with focus on the built environment, public space, cultural heritage, life quality etc. In addition, new areas of interest for tourism will be developed such as wellness-tourism, a holiday center and wildlife tourism. The most important large scale project is the establishment of Thy National Park (123). With a point of departure in the analysis conducted by the municipality and in ideas coming from the citizens, the partnership in the "land of possibilities" develops a row of concrete demonstration-projects focusing on four themes. These four themes are empty houses, coastal cities (sea and fjord), accessibility and connection and meeting places and network.

The project Land of Possibilities is a huge project which will only produce an output in the coming years However, some of the initiatives seem to be pointing in the right direction, and particularly the focus on place-specific projects seems promising. This can be related to e.g. the master plan for Cold Hawaii which takes its point of departure in local potentials and sets itself up for that.

**5.1.3 Thy National Park[46]**
The establishment of national parks in Denmark happens in the context of European policy for the protection and development of valuable cultural and natural landscapes, and it is directly inspired by already existing German and Dutch examples. Thy National Park in Thisted municipality (fig. 123) was selected as the first national park in Denmark in June 2007[47]. The park area of about 24.370 ha forms a 12 km broad belt stretching along the west coast from Agger Tange in the south to Hanstholm in the north. Thy National Park holds a broad variety of nature and landscape types, ranging from coastal to agricultural areas, woodlands and meadows, so the area represents quite a unique type of nature. The purpose of establishing National parks in Denmark and specifically Thy National Park is first of all to preserve, secure and develop unique nature, landscapes and cultural heritage. Secondly, it is to create better opportunities to move around in nature and experience it fully. This is supported by a number of trails which make it possible to move using different types of transportation, such as walking, riding on a bike or a horse and also going by car. Finally, Thy National Park is thought of as a contributor to regional economic development. Through focus on landscape and nature, more visitors will be attracted to a shrinking area (Danish Forest and Nature Agency 2008), which will increase tourism. In addition, the Danish Forest and Nature Agency envisions the establishment of the national park as an incentive for local business activity, e.g. the possibility to launch special "national park articles" like food, tourism, trade (Danish Forest and Nature Agency 2008).

Thy National Park is mainly a conservation project. Therefore possibilities for changes inside the park area are restricted, while built-up areas such as villages and local towns are not included in the park project. However, if the National Park was conceived as a combined preservation and transformation project, considering towns and villages in its extended project area, it could become the conceptual framework for the development of an innovative multifunctional landscape. By shifting the focus from built-up to open space, existing localized potential could be activated for territorial development. Moreover, it would become possible to integrate future demolition of existing built structures into an overall spatial vision.
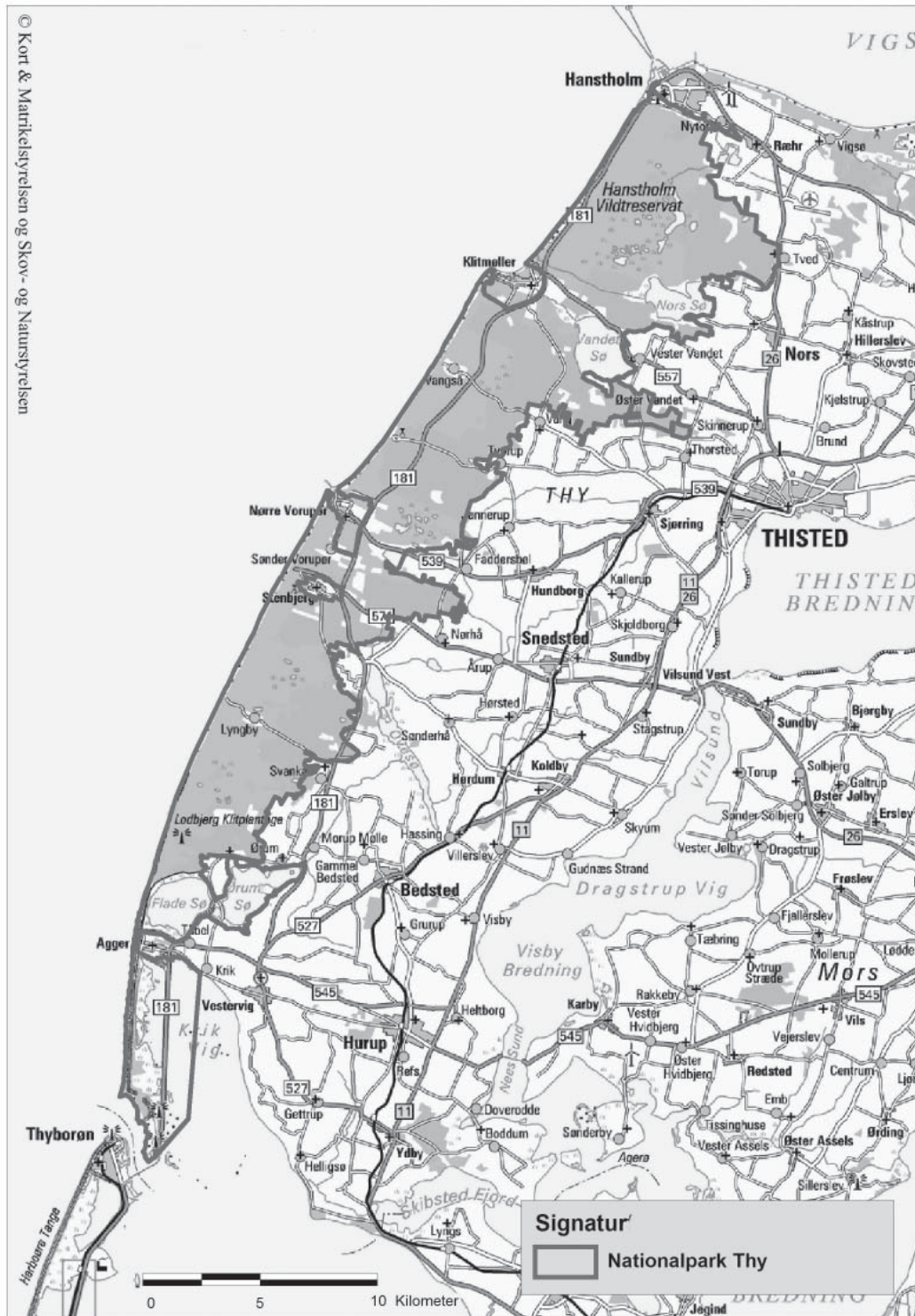
Fig. 123: Map of Thy National Park (The Danish Forest and Nature Agency 2007)

**5.1.4 Cold Hawaii**

Some of the same nature resources which comprise the basis for the Thy National Park are used in the next initiative. In the municipality of Thisted some of the best surf spots in Europe are to be found and these excellent conditions have given Thisted and specifically the west coast the name Cold Hawaii, in the circles of surfers: it is like Hawaii just much colder (Cold Hawaii 2008). In addition to this, the surfers have named 29 different localities with names such as reef, puddle, Bunkers, Middles and lagoon, putting them on the map as surf spots.

Fig. 124: Cold Hawaii and its locations (Cold Hawaii 2008: 2)

In order to expand the conditions and use surfing as a brand for the area, local surfers in the Surf-club NASA have developed what they call: master plan for Cold Hawaii. The group behind the master plan considers surfing to be an excellent possibility for the area of Thisted to present itself as something unique and to become a place with a certain brand or identity that differs from the surroundings. The master plan is basically an explanation of the surf environment in Thisted, including a description of the different surf areas and also proposals for optimizing the existing surf places to create better conditions for the surfers (and the locals and tourists). By bettering the conditions it becomes possible to attract more surfers on a temporary and on a permanent basis.

An important incitement behind the master plan is that surfing can accommodate new activities and initiatives in the area. The master plan group wants to take a step away from conventional ways of thinking while using surfing as a stepping stone and combining surfing with other activities. One of the proposals is to add education to this strategy, with a specific emphasis on outdoor activity education. It is very difficult to attract well-educated people to the Thisted region and surfing and other outdoor activities might be a way to appeal to this specific group of people[48].

On the physical level, the master plan group proposes different initiatives at the different surf spots to better the conditions. They wish to create public facilities that can be used for other activities, in addition to surfing. They propose to support the surf environment but also to encourage the settling down of people, and in this context construction of internet hotspots and wireless internet could make it easier for surfers to work, while being out surfing.

The Reef, or in everyday speech Ørhage, placed by Klitmøller is one example of how to transform a surf area. The interventions must gear the Reef to accommodate recreational stay, in general, and must reveal the harsh nature and promote an active lifestyle. One part of the proposal is to make better parking facilities and better access to the sea, so that the surfers get better conditions while the inconvenience for locals created by the surfers is reduced. They therefore suggest a continuous theme called the club-road, which is introduced at all the surf spots throughout Thisted. The club-road is a pedestrian walkway and in the case of Ørhage the club-road connects the parking area with the surf area. In addition to the club-road they propose an observation plateau which has the potential to bring people closer to the wild and windy North Sea (Cold Hawaii 2008).

Another proposal is a center function called Cold Hawaii – Coastal Explorer Center, to be placed on the point of Ørhage and built into the existing landscape. This center is to support the use of the area as a place which will develop, communicate and arrange activities related to nature and outdoor living. In this center there could be activities like a public-fish-kitchen, an experimentarium where people can come and learn about fish and how to cook fish. Furthermore, the center can contain a gear-bank where it is possible to borrow different equipment suitable for outdoor activities. Thirdly, the center will have a multi purpose basis that can be used for meetings, conferences, indoor events and as a classroom. And finally the center could be a place for small businesses to establish a working environment (Cold Hawaii 2008).



Fig. 125: Desing proposal for the Coastal Explorer Center (Cold Hawaii 2008: 73)

On the whole, some fine initiatives have been made by the master plan for cold Hawaii. It is an excellent example of how to step out from the crowd and use the potentials of a given place in the best possible way. It puts the Thisted area on the map as something unique, with its very own features. In a small town as Klitmøller it is evident that the surf-sport has contributed in a positive way, because the population in Klitmøller has increased as one of the only places in the Thisted Municipality. However, it is important to link the surf-sport to other initiatives; actually, the master plan group points out that many of the surf spots are placed in the new national park and that the surf-sport could be integrated in the national park. Thereby, this master plan represents one step in the development of a strategy for Thisted Municipality.



Fig. 126: Design proposal for the Club-road at the Reef (Cold Hawaii 2008: 25)

**5.1.5 Summary – Discussion of Politics and Interventions**

In Denmark, in contrast to Baltimore and the U.S., the municipalities are important actors in relation to negative urban development - maybe even the most important. The Danish fringe municipalities are pro-active and initiate a number of projects, but the Danish fringe municipalities also seem to have difficulties finding the finances for new projects. That can be considered a problem, as private funds are very difficult to come by in the work done in Danish fringe areas. The only one that comes to mind is the RealDania Foundation, which seems to have the means and also an interest in dealing with Danish areas in decline; RealDania is already involved with the Land of Possibilities project. This under-representation might be explained by the fact that traditionally, the state and municipality cope with issues like this in Denmark. However, growing neo-liberalization seems to be changing that and new actors have to come forward. This might call for new thinking in relation to attracting new actors: a process which is already happening. This can be seen in both the Real Dania project Land of Possibilities and the space pioneer project where local resources and the involvement of local actors play an important role.

**On the Edge**

Jens Rex Christensen and Ditte Bendix Lanng (2008) attempt to find alternatives like this in their master thesis project, when they proposes to combine business and public space by incorporating the cost of construction for the public space in the contract with the wind turbine producer. Furthermore, it is an excellent project when it comes to show the potentials of the urban design profession in the handling of negative urban development by focusing on the visual and architectonic aspects. The master thesis project *On the Edge* (Dan: På Kant) is conducted at the Urban Design specialization, Department of Architecture and Design, Aalborg University which is the same research environment I belong to.

The project concerns the Danish fringe areas placed on the physical edge between ocean and country. The thesis of the project is that place-specific amenity value and existing economies can collectively form the basis for the development of vigorous, local hybrid-projects on the edge. These projects have the character of being spatial and architectonical interventions that developed new narratives and development potentials in the local places (Christensen & Lanng, 2008). Christensen and Lanng work from an explorative approach looking at what is there. They both see the local potentials at eye level and have a more overall view when looking at their field from above. This has brought about an understanding of the edge as a highly diverse field – a mosaic (Christensen & Lanng, 2008).

With basis in a thorough and interesting investigation of the edge from Aalborg to Thyborøn through the development of a number of mini-scenarios and an overall theoretical view, Christensen and Lanng develop a conceptual design for the Danish west coast city Thyborøn. Here they combine the wind turbine industry and a local society with great nature value on the edge. The aim is "to create a field of energy in the landscape of Thyborøn: applicable, distinctive urban spaces which anchor the landscape of wind production in an urban and recreational quality and supply the small town with new energy" (Christensen & Lanng, 2008: 3). This means creating a new valuation for Thyborøn.

This combination of wind turbines and place-specific values is coined in a number of public spaces in Thyborøn. By making this combination, production landscapes as well as a consumption landscape are developed – a hybrid, multifunctional landscape has emerged. The idea is that the wind turbines have to give something back to the society, in which they are placed, contributing to the construction of public space by including the expenses for the construction and upkeep of the public spaces in the budget of the wind turbines.

The five public spaces together form a 5.5 km band along the edge of Thyborøn, which constitutes the public park called Edge of Light and Wind, and the park is a combination of the harsh nature and the impressive technical landscapes you find in Thyborøn. The public spaces within the park are linked together through a meta-level called White Wind. White Wind is a particular light that is only activated when the wind turbines have produced a surplus of energy. The concept of white wind is a technical counterpart to the nature phenomenon of black sun which comes into being when thousand of starlings gather in the south of Denmark in October before flying south for the winter. White Wind is an space event happening approximately 0-2 times a year.

The five public spaces use the wind and the landscape for a number of purposes throughout the day, and at night the public spaces operate with certain lighting. This gives a number of different functions and scenographies of the edge landscape. The first public space is called the Urban Furniture, which is a physical installation that functions as a meeting point, connecting city and edge. The second public space is the City Balcony, consisting of long pathways connecting the city and the beach, the urban and the recreative. The third public space is called Playground, and it is constructed from two existing bunkers which are transformed into a playground with

Fig. 127, 128, 129 and 130: Above: Illustrations that shows the Urban Furniture and below: Illustrations showing the playground (Christensen and Lanng 2008 p80, 81, 88 and 89)

interactive laser light, among other things. The fourth public space is Waiting Room with View; this is a view point where you can enjoy scenic nature while waiting for the ferry, bus or train. The fifth and final public space is the Wind–Milling - House of Light and Wind, which is the place where the wind turbines produce light and here a small house is constructed, inside which there is a view, shelter and information about the wind turbines.

This project operates on a conceptual level and aims to create distinction on the edge –highlighting the importance of standing out from the crowd. This is done in an interesting way, by combining existing resources with the possibilities of financing new public spaces from the wind turbine industry. Thereby, it becomes a locally anchored project that gives a surplus value while creating new energy and identity in a fringe area. Furthermore, it is an excellent example of how to create a dynamic, multifunctional landscape by working with a place-based understanding and taking a point of departure in what is there. The project tells a new narrative as an addition to the existing one. This new narrative sets out to tell a different story than the one of the rotten banana, as it emphasizes the positive stories of the fringe.

**The Importance of Local Actors**
Like in Baltimore, many of the Danish initiatives revolve around the involvement of local actors. These fiery souls are of extreme importance because they provide local anchoring. The area renewal project in the former Spøttrup municipality takes it even further, as it unites the local actors of four small communities so that they work together in a network strategy. Thereby, the work is expanded into a greater context and the local communities do not have to have all the initiatives themselves but can cooperate and thereby use each others' strengths. The Land of Possibilities project combines local actors not only with the municipality but also with researchers and designers, creating a dynamic field in the process. Moreover, it combines the use of local actors with the use of local potentials and thereby works in a very place-specific manner.

This more strategic approach, combining different initiatives, actors or potentials, seems to be important, because a united effort can make it easier to work with determination in the field of negative urban decline.

**In the Footsteps of the Past**

A project working with the strategic level of areas with negative urban develop-ment is the graduate project *In the Footsteps of the Past – towards future visions* conducted by Christina Holm Hansen, Christina Jepsen and Marie Grove Jørgensen from the Department of Planning, Aalborg University, 2006. This project, however, works in a very one-sided way, as it looks exclusively at demographic growth and decline and how to categorize urban areas due to specific potential. But, anyhow, it shows the need for looking at the strategic level.

In the framework of their diploma thesis Hansen, Jepsen and Jørgensen studied the case of Hjørring municipality and came up with some more radical suggestions. They propose a future urban pattern based upon an analysis of local infrastruc-ture, location, existing architectural values and population development trends
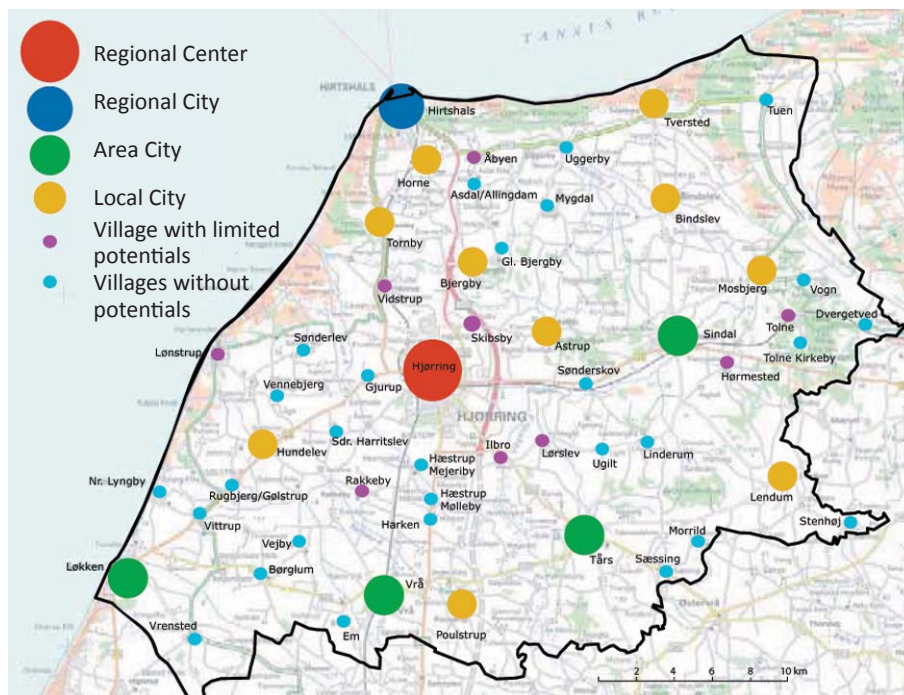


Fig. 131: Map of prioritized development in the Municipality of Hjørring (Hansen et al 2006)

(fig. 131) (Hansen et. al. 2006). According to these criteria, villages marked purple have restricted potential for urban development and are suggested to be physically "rounded off"; villages marked blue have no potential for urban development and are therefore proposed to be "wound up" in the long term. The prioritization criteria proposed by the students are all widely accepted and approved by planning practice. However, all these criteria apply an external perspective and rely entirely upon statistical data and expert knowledge. The interior perspective, i.e. the perspective of local actors like politicians, citizens, land owners, investors etc. is remarkably absent. In addition, the possibility of innovative planning and urban design solutions is not taken into account (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). They do, however, point at a delicate, but extremely relevant topic, namely prioritized local development, because it seems inevitable to discuss the allocation of service and welfare institutions and eventually it becomes necessary to act upon it. This is actually already happening in the municipalities in the fringe areas, and interestingly the urban pattern developed by Hjørring municipality comes quite close to the students' proposition and was therefore also harshly criticised by local media (Beck 2007).

**The Potentials of the Landscape**
The nature or landscape of a given place is often used when local resources are in focus. Thus, nature is an important element. This is evident in projects like Thy National Park and Cold Hawaii. They all use the landscape of specific places to develop new initiatives. The two student projects work with transformation and development of the landscape in a fine way. Thereby, they activate the landscape in unexpected ways creating a dynamic and innovative urban landscape. In this new landscape, new narratives are told creating distinction from the crowd. In contrast to this, the Thy National Park looks at the landscape through the lens of preservation. If the national Park, like the student projects propose, combined this focus with transformation, the concept of a national park could be an innovative multifunctional landscape. However, both the National park and the Master plan for Cold Hawaii use nature to develop a strategy that positions them as something unique - in contrast to other localities.

**Gårdbo Lake[49]**
Kim Katrine Bjørn Møller's and Anne Ulrik Westergaard's project for the transformation of the Gårdbo Lake area in North Jutland (Aarhus Architectural School, 2007) is an example of a landscape approach. In their final study project at the Aarhus School of Architecture, Møller and Westergaard investigate the potential of the cul-
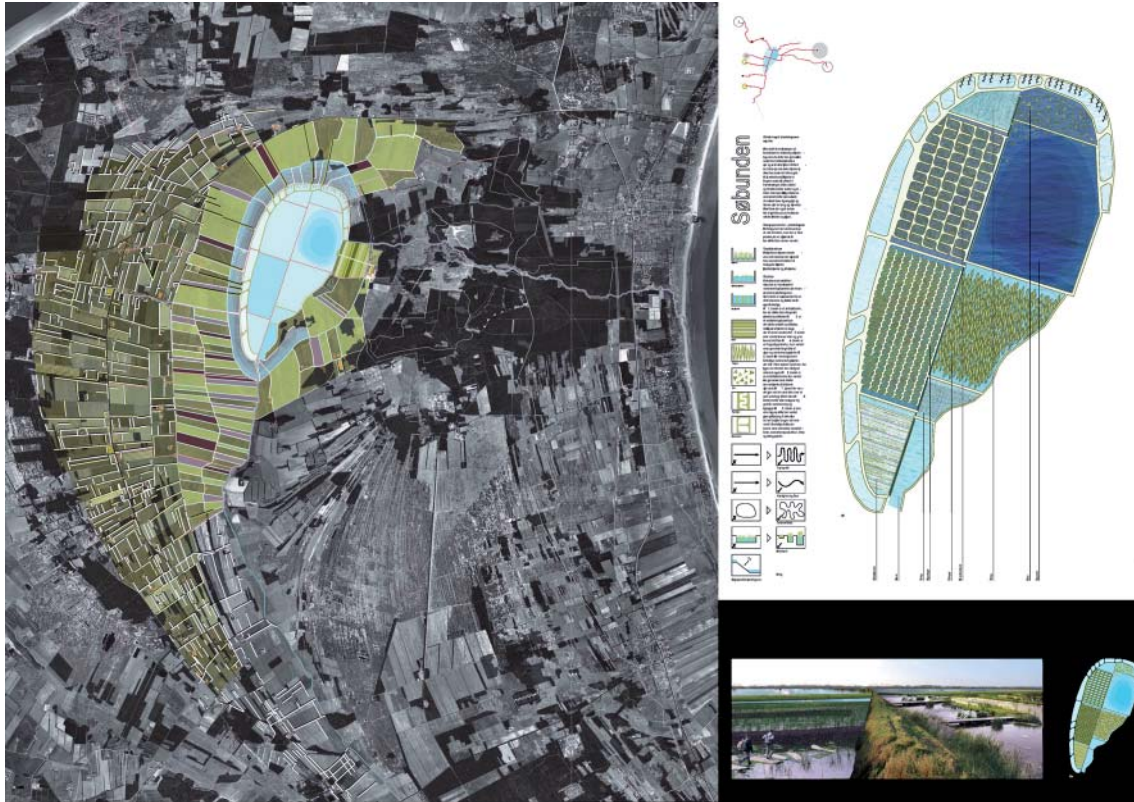
Fig. 132: Transformation of Gårdbo Lake (Møller, K. K. B. & Westergaard, A. U. 2008)

tural landscape for territorial development in a shrinking region. Starting from a thorough analysis of the existing physical, cultural and historical resources of the Gårdbo Lake area, which today is drained and cultivated, they add innovative programs, e.g. to "grow pure water instead of crop". For environmental as well as economical reasons the draining of the lake and the intensive agricultural usage of the area is no longer considered viable. Against this background, the architectural students propose to transform the Gårdbo Lake into a natural water cleaning facility, which reuses the existing canal system. Starting from the conversion of the lake into a planting lagoon, Møller and Westergaard develop a new spatial narrative for the larger lake area. They imagine the planting lagoon as a public park, combining drinking water quality enhancement with consciously designed sensual experiences. On the small adjacent land with properties situated on the shores of the lake, they

propose specialized agricultural production of medical plants. The design proposal suggests that shores of the lake could take on the character of a "therapeutic garden" if they were opened to the public. Finally, on the "ridge" of the lake niche food production could be combined with agro tourism.

The strength of the project lies in its simultaneously explorative and strategic character. By speculating upon the introduction of new programs, the localized potential of the Gårdbo Lake area is activated in unexpected ways. Ecological, aesthetical, cultural, social and economical impacts are equally unfolded by design. Interestingly, Møller and Westergaard consider their project rather as "research by design" than as master plan for the transformation of the Gårdbo Lake area. They virtually "test" possible territorial transformations with regard to their local, regional and international development potential within ecology, experience economy, agrarian production and not least aesthetics. The developed conceptual images can thus enable and qualify a differentiated discussion of possible futures for a specific place between politicians, citizens and other decision makers.

|  | State | Market | Civil society |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Scale** | Works mainly on from the municipal level to the local level<br>The national planning report tries to deal with the overall description of the territory but do not come up with action<br>And the area renewal program is a state governed initiative | The RealDania project takes point of departure in the local but wants to expand to a general discussion | Works on the local level with specific projects or initiatives |
| **Economical capital** | The state (municipality) is the main economical actor on the field but it lack means to carry out projects | The market is very sparsely represented with only the RealDania foundation, but here there is a relatively big budget | The NGO's have very little financial capacity an must apply for funding either from the state or the market |
| **Physical capital/ Urban form** | Working with the existing physical resources and potentials and uses these actively in the transformation. | Working with the existing physical resources and potentials and uses these actively in the transformation. | Small intervention that make a difference in the local community. Often by improving the e existing built environment or by building new public places and buildings |
| **Socio-cultural capital/ software** | working with improving the quality of life and strategies for creating new jobs, new business etc. | working with improving the quality of life and to maybe exploit the resources of the specific place for new jobs etc. | working with improving the quality of life in the local community and preserving or creating offers |

Fig. 133: Schematic overview of the Danish interventions

## 5.2. HOLISTIC MODEL FOR HANDLING NEGATIVE URBAN DEVEL-
OPMENT – Positive spatial Narratives and Unwinding

On the basis of the exposition of interventions in the two previous chapters I will in the following set up a frame or model for working in areas undergoing negative urban development. This model is a contribution to what physical planning and urban design can focus on. Furthermore, it is to be seen as a contribution for discussion and as a step in the direction of finding differentiated urban design tools. This frame has to consist of different issues and these issues derive from the above exposition of interventions.

This model is a strategy for working with urban transformation with or without growth. The model can generally be described as a model dealing relationally and holistically with transformation of areas with negative urban development. Just as I advocated for a relational approach in the understanding of growth and decline coined in the term urban transformations, I also urge to adopt a relational approach in the handling of negative urban development. In this context, to work relationally means to work across different geographical scales, to work relationally between growing and declining zones and, finally work across different sectors (the combination of different actors and agents, different professions – work in the combination of state, market and civil society).

This model is an urban design model meaning that it in general focuses on the architectonical, visual, aesthetic and urban design values and potentials of the declining territories, and its agenda is to work purposefully with these aspects in the handling of these territories. Here, the opinion is that by working with the architecture and design of these declining territories, the processes might be changed for the better as a spatial transformation could affect the every day life of the inhabitants. Because the reality of these territories is that, with abandonment and decay, they are loosing quality regarding physical appearance and therefore, by working purposefully with the architecture and design, it may become possible to actively develop the territories – creating a surplus value in the process.

In the following I will first introduce the model which consists of four overall themes: multifunctional landscapes, soft tools, pragmatic solutions and, strategic solutions. Thereafter I will elaborate on what a frame like this must be capable of.
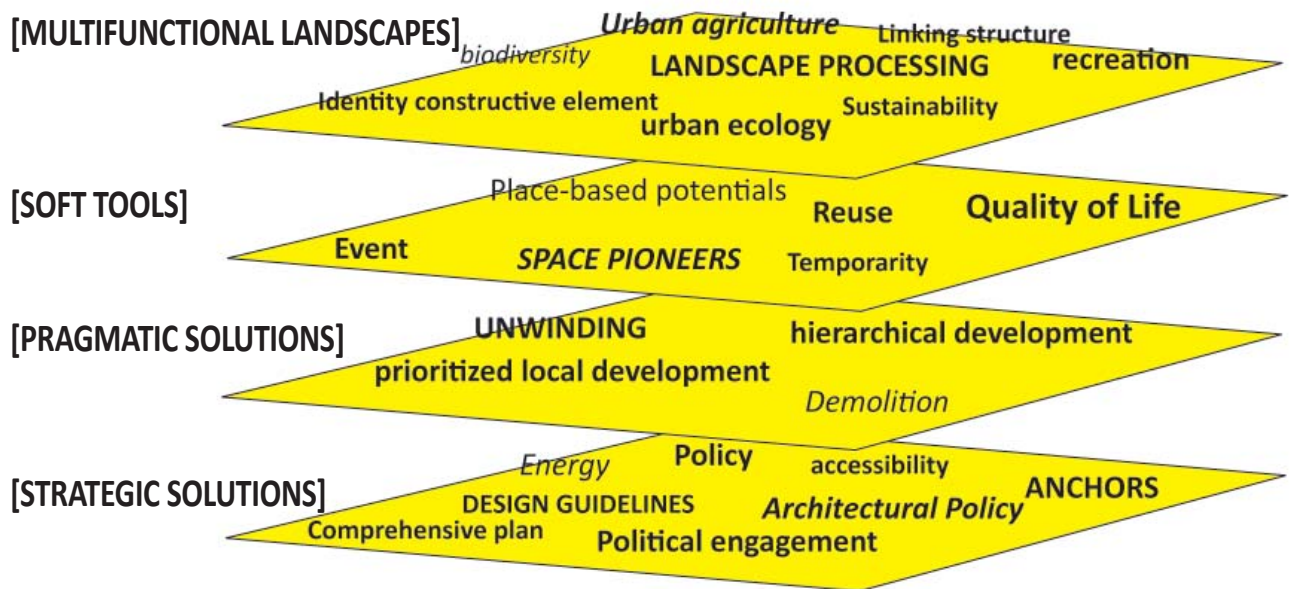
Fig. 134: The four layers and their related issues

### 5.2.0 Strategic Solutions

The theme of strategic approach deals with the strategic level of the frame and in this context specifically the urban-architectonical strategies. There is a need for relevant planning initiatives that actively guide the effort - an effort which is to strengthen and shape the development of the territory.

This strategy must, on the municipal or the city level, contain both considerations about how to handle development and unwinding of a territory undergoing negative urban development. Such a strategic approach has to be holistic and long term, which means that it has to incorporate many different aspects and span over a sequence of years. The comprehensive plan known in the Danish Area Renewal Act can be related to this. Furthermore, the strategy is to be inclusive enough to incorporate all the different strategies, funds and initiatives taking place in the declining territories. Thereby, it becomes possible to get an overview of what is happening in the territory as well as to combine initiatives, making them even stronger and more significant.

The strategic level can be considered an overall policy level that sets up rules, tools and initiatives which are to be implemented on the local micro level. This means that just as we formulate policies to handle growing areas, we have to formulate policies that integrate declining territories. In this manner, this strategic level helps organize the local place-based level and makes it possible to work on the local level. It is on the local level that things in the local community can take place. The German landscape architect Klaus Overmeyer talks about that local networks and local people are key elements in a transformation of declining territories. In order for them to be so, it is important to have laws and policies that are flexible in relation to these actors' needs.

Barcelona can be seen as an example of this type of strategic focus on the architectural side of a city's development (this example is included even though I am aware that a comparison between Barcelona and e.g. Vestervig in Thisted Municipality is impossible). After the fall of Franco, the city of Barcelona was in a bad state physically and needed renewal. Therefore, in preparation for the Olympics in 1992, a strategic and long term plan for the urban and architectural renewal of the city was developed, according to which the harbor front and several squares in the city were renewed. Specific areas were chosen for renewal, like a kind of acupuncture method. Public spaces were worked with and exciting public meeting places were created by removing building blocks and transforming them to public spaces, parks and green areas within the city.

**Map the Territories**
One of the tasks on this strategic level is to map the significant elements of the territory, both the positive and negative ones in order to qualify the effort that seems necessary. It is important to focus on the existing environmental, cultural, natural, architectonic and infra-structural development potentials in a declining territory. Furthermore, it is about mapping the negative and positive developments both according to population, physical appearance, economy and socio-cultural structures. Thereby, we get an overview of the extent and character of decline as well as an idea of what the potentials are in the territory.

**Local Anchors**
In this mapping it is important to map possible anchors – geographical, architectonical and mental – which can be used in future development. These anchors can be related to many different things such as landscape, culture, accessibility, social

networks etc. It is essential to work strategically with identity development and in this process the finding of anchors matters a great deal. Also, when acknowledging that not all areas will transform for the better, it is important that some areas stand out from the crowd where interesting spatial narratives can be told and in that way distinguish them from the grey mass of decline.

**The Political Will**
This strategic plan is also a way for politicians and local governments to work with determination in the field. In order to succeed, the politicians have to acknowledge the situation and work both with development and unwinding of particular areas.

The will of the politicians is what the City and Landscape Administration under the Ministry of the Environment points at as vital factor in the development of the declining Danish outskirts (Ministry of the Environment 2007). They state that if there is a wish for development in the outskirt areas, it requires political will combined with long term prioritization taking a point of departure in the strengths and potentials of the local villages (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 4). Furthermore, the City and Landscape Administration emphasises the necessity to determine that some villages do not have the necessary potentials to survive the current social development, and that the political prioritization is decisive for the survival of more vigorous villages and outskirt areas (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 4). They also say that it is essential to use the already existing initiatives, to  formulate a set of visions and develop action plans with a basis in the local strengths - and  to engage the relevant local actors (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 4). Finally, they recommend that a policy for the villages and outskirt areas is developed, taking its point of departure in the local potentials, concerning the relationship between the towns and villages and looking at them as a network. This can enable the municipalities to develop specific plans for the individual village (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 7).

**5.2.1 Pragmatic Solutions**
The category of pragmatic solutions includes acknowledging that it is not possible to save all urban territories from decline and that some will definitely vanish. This means that renewed growth in some of the territories do not seem a likely possibility in the future. Therefore, it seems inevitable not to discuss the unwinding of some of these territories. However, the problem is that the urban territories will not just disappear from one day to the next. Many of them will probably still be

here in some form or another 50 or 100 years from now – still suffering from de-
cline. If we look at e.g. North America, big cities have been struggling with decline
since the beginning of the 1970s. They still suffer from decline and will most likely
be suffering from decline in the future too. Furthermore, people living in these ter-
ritories also need to be taken into consideration, when determining what to do.
The project *After Urbanism* (2004) sets out to make a strategy for ways to create
development in some places and unwinding of other places. One attempt was to
create different zones with different qualities. Another project is the *In the footstep
of the past* (2007) in which a prioritized hierarchical structure, ranging from main
center to villages with no potentials, was presented. Both projects might be seen as
the beginning of a discussion concerning what to do with the declining territories
with little chance of survival. For that reason there seems to be a need for discuss-
ing demolition and prioritized local development.

**Demolition**
In the declining areas there are derelict houses and buildings falling into ruins. This
is not a sustainable situation neither for the people living there or for the physical
appearance. If these buildings just stand there, issues such as pollution, infesta-
tions, danger etc. will affect the people still living there. We, therefore, have to
find fruitful solutions concerning the surplus of built structures, and demolition of
parts of the built structure in declining territories seems inescapable. However, it
is important that demolition strategies do not stand alone but are integrated into a
bigger overall strategic plan.

In Denmark there is a demand for tools/laws which allow demolition of abandoned
and empty structures in more adequate ways than the existing ones do. In America
tools/laws that can demolish structures are already in place, but here these tools
are highly criticized, because they do not answer the question: after demolition
then what? In the U.S. today many places just stand empty after having undergone
demolition, often surrounded by big fences and with bricks and other building ma-
terials left behind. In some cases, the top layer of the building material has been
removed and grass has been planted, but without any new use or purpose for the
area. Often, demolition is done in order to prevent drug-dealers from using the
abandoned houses as places for drug dealing. In Denmark, some municipalities have
chosen the pre-emptive strategy of buying and demolishing empty houses to keep
them from being bought up and rented out to socially marginalized people by real
estate speculators; in other cases, demolition of dilapidated houses appears as an
instrument for aesthetic and environmental hygiene (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

**Prioritized Local Development**

Another way of dealing with the loss of energy in declining territories is by working with prioritized local development. Based upon different external and internal criteria, the municipality or city develops a structure that gives the different localities a role in a greater whole, in that way creating a network structure just as the one seen in the area renewal project from the former Spøttrup Municipality. In this context strategic profiling based upon localized potential, weaknesses and strengths becomes an increasingly important planning tool (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). In practice, a common approach is to increase settlement in selected places, where urban development is mainly concentrated in easily accessible areas with good infrastructure and especially in areas considered suitable for commuting to the next larger city (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

Prioritized local development has always been practiced e.g. in Denmark with the hierarchical structure among cities, but it can be used even more strategically. This is also needed because in the coming years more and more demands for redefining the internal hierarchy of towns and villages in the municipality will be expressed. In addition to the weakening of the welfare state, welfare institutions such as schools, centers for the elderly and access to public transport seem to be relocated and become more centralized, due to cutbacks. As a consequence of the new urban pattern, some villages loose their status as local centers or become situated further away from the nearest local center. A number of local schools will be closed, and these institutions are especially critical for the vitality of a small community. With no local institutions and commercial infrastructure, a number of villages become increasingly vulnerable to population and physical decline (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). The regulation of the urban pattern is therefore a decisive political instrument in the distribution of future urban growth or shrinkage. In generally declining municipalities, the role assigned to a local community with regard to the municipal urban pattern might be the deciding factor regarding survival or death (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

**5.2.2 Multifunctional Landscapes**

In declining territories the built structures are weakened and the landscape seems to have a prevailing position instead. Therefore, it could be interesting to use the landscape in the transformation process as a characteristic structure, instead of just letting it take over, and in this regard it seems useful to focus more on the development of the landscape and exploiting its potentials and resources in the develop-

ment of declining territories. The dichotomy of city versus countryside is no longer applicable, and with the physical deterioration in declining territories it seems more relevant to use the landscape progressively. E.g. the landscape approach used by Parks & People in Baltimore can be developed further, so that the landscape becomes the dominating structure that both develops and unwinds territories. The landscape can be seen as a medium which contains development as well as unwinding and it can be used in rural and urban areas alike. Also in Danish territories the partners have discovered "nature" as the greatest asset of the declining areas. In turn the planning focus partly shifts from the built environment of villages and small towns to the open space of the landscape. This development is reinforced by national and European policy for environmental protection, e.g. drinking water management and biodiversity, as well as preservation policy for specific cultural and natural landscapes (Tietjen and Laursen 2008). This can be related to the opinions of Alan Berger, stating that the landscape is the medium which we need to work with in relation to what he calls drosscapes or waste areas left over after planning.

*"This condition begs for landscape architects and other designers of the urban realm to shift a good amount of attention away from small-scale site design in order to consider how we can improve regional landscape deficiencies of the urban realm. This is the potential for landscape urbanism."* (Berger 2006: 209)

The term landscape urbanism is seen as a term that can structure the present and unpredictable urban condition. As mentioned in part IV, urban scholar Graham Shane actually states that landscape urbanism can accommodate both growth and shrinkage, due to the specific ways in which the urban is viewed and handled (2005:10) and also the example from Stalking Detroit, in the same part of the thesis, indicates this. It seems as though landscape urbanism, by its hybridization of architecture and landscape, can unite a fragmented urban area in a unifying strategy/design proposal that can capture the complexity of areas undergoing urban transformation; this is maybe best described in the following quotation by James Corner:

*"It marks dissolution of old dualities such as nature-culture, and it dismantles classical notions of hierarchy, boundary and centre. Perhaps most importantly, it marks a productive attitude towards indeterminacy, open-endedness, intermixing and cross-disciplinarity. Unlike the overly simplified view of the city as a static composition [.......] landscape urbanism views the emergent metropolis as a thick, living mat of accumulated patches and layered systems, with no singular authority or control."* ( Corner 2003: 59)

In this process, the use of the landscape can be an important element, when the landscape is used in more offensive and multifunctional ways, in order to create a sustainable plan for declining areas. Sébastian Marot (1999) draws attention to the present transformation of the rural areas, where other economies such as tourism and recreation have moved into the agricultural areas increasingly, and he points out that:

*"The preservation of legacy of these agrarian communities, the care of their resources, and the adaptation to new, changing economies demand true intervention in the form of innovative landscape projects"* (Marot, 1999: 49).

**Urban Ecology**

One of the aspects in the landscape approach is to look at the landscape as a source for ecology. This is the approach of the Baltimore Eco System study and Parks & People in the work done in watershed 263. Here there is a focus on the ecological processes and how to improve these.Thereby, the framework is the city perceived as a large, man-influenced ecosystem. In addition to traditional urban design approaches, other parameters such as topography, watersheds, patch dynamics, energy flows etc. are taken into account and regarded as interrelated.

**Landscape as Identity Constructive Element and Linking Structure**

Another aspect that an urban landscape approach can contribute with is the landscape as an element which creates structure and identity and which is also an attractor in itself. By working with the landscape in a determined manner, the landscape can be the element creating structure, identity and form to a given area. In areas undergoing negative urban development, the built structures are loosing their value and in many ways the landscape takes over; thereby the landscape could, if worked with strategically, be a new identifying element in these declining areas, while contributing to the production of a specific place identity.

Furthermore, a landscape strategy can contain physical, ecological, social and cultural aspects. When focusing on the landscape, it is often regarded as de-culturalizing a place, implying nature takes over and culture disappears. But, by working purposefully with the landscape, this can also be considered as an element shaping culture. The urban landscape approach connected with social and cultural events is expressed in the IBA Emcsher project, where a former industrial area was transformed to new purposes by using the landscape as an overall medium to create cultural and social projects.

Rem Koolhas's design proposal for an extension of Melun-Sénart, an urban area just south of Paris is an example of contemporary planning proposals dealing with the increased role of the landscape in the city. This is, however, a project made for a rapidly expanding city-region, but the principles of the project also seem interesting to transfer to a declining situation, in my opinion.

The main idea with the project revolves around an idea that the built- up areas are uncontrollable, and the only thing planners and architects are able to control is the landscape or the un-built areas.

*"The built is now fundamentally suspect. The unbuilt is green, ecological, popular. If the built – le plein – is now out of control – subject to permanent political, financial, cultural turmoil – the same is not (yet) true of the unbuilt; nothingness may be the last subject plausible certainties!"* [Koolhaas, 1995: 974].
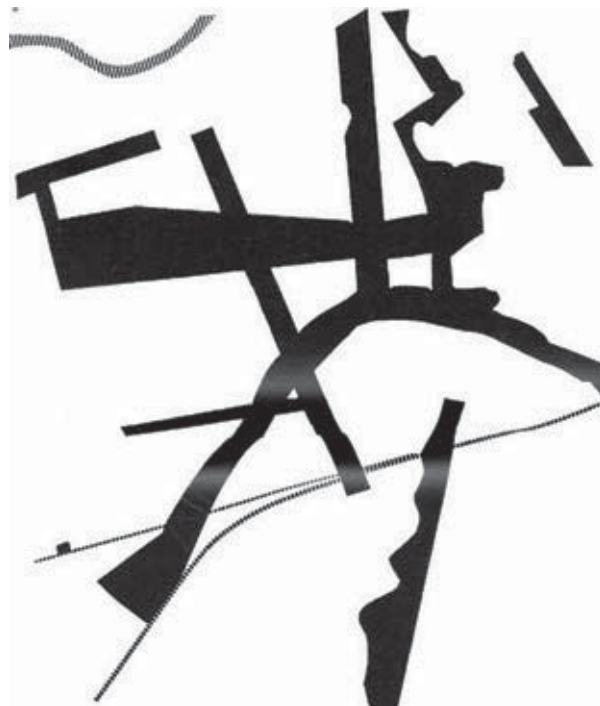


Fig. 135: In the Surrender project the landscape has a prevailing role being considered suitalbe for planning (Illustration: Koolhaas, 1998)

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The strategy is thus NOT to ask where buildings are planned, but instead to ask where NO buildings are planned. Koolhaas thereby stresses the open structures as being vital in contemporary urban structure, and that contemporary urbanity is a hybrid of built, un-built and infrastructure.

This means that instead of planning a built structure, Koolhaas is inspired by the landscape and shapes a figure of landscape bands which will be protected by the expansion of the city. The remaining plots - what is outside the bands - are then left to be taken over by"chaos" or by the built structures. Here, the architecture is built on the terms of the market Koolhaas 1995). Thus, the landscape bands are to create structure and identity and also a united quarter by connecting existing structures and, via its binding factor, the landscape then becomes a new controlling element which creates structure and connection,
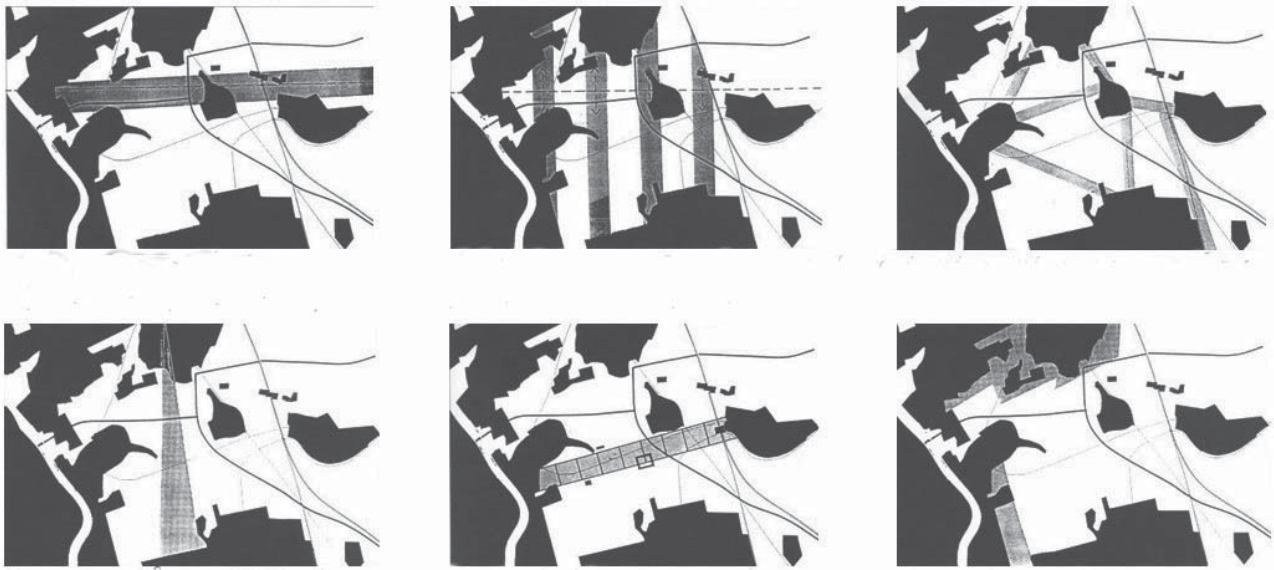


Fig. 136: The construction of the landscape bands, taking point of departure in existing structures (Illustration: Koolhaas, 1998: 979)

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### 5.2.3 Soft Tools

Soft tools represent a category that uses the potentials of the given space. On the whole, this category can be described as looking at and working with the local place. It deals with the existing qualities and resources but it is also about having a bottom-up approach to find alternative ways of thinking and to engage the local space pioneers. It acknowledges that the local networks and people are important and that their ideas and needs have to be focused on. It is the micro level of planning, which is using the different capitals of the place in order to improve it. As the architects behind the project Urban Catalysts state:  It is vital to support or develop a planning which is able to handle ever changing situations, which quickly can be adapted and which does not need great investments, but instead can establish a synergy between the different actors and the existing resources. This implies talking about place-based development which uses the local as take-off for new narratives. In a Danish context, the National Planning report, actually, advises using the particular spatial condition of the individual areas as a starting point for the development of multifunctional rural landscapes. Increased settlement, recreational experiences and tourism strategies should be based on local "natural qualities and uniqueness" (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

### The event and the Temporary

One aspect of the soft tools is related to seeing possibilities in the small, the fragmented and the momentary. This emphasizes a temporary use of structures or the construction of event. An event or a temporary use of a place can contribute to boosting the energy of a place. This can be seen in the case of Cold Hawaii, among other places, where the surfers set the scene for the municipality of Thisted by using different places temporarily and by developing different events all linked to the subject of surfing.

An event is a temporary structure dealing with a specific topic. It puts a place on the map as something specific over a couple of days such as the Roskilde Festival or Horsens Medieval days. Temporary use of an area means occupying the area for a shorter or longer period, while this area is in a transition zone from its previous task to one in the future. Here, the temporary users make bring an area into play in a different way than it was used previously. Often temporary use is recycling the existing structures and spaces, giving them new purposes with minimal interventions. Furthermore, this use consists of more unplanned activities, such as using the space for different youth cultures or subcultures: it becomes a laboratory for new cultures

and economies (urban catalysts 2003). This means that vacant spaces can be the breeding grounds for the development of ideas, as niches or as a parallel universes in relation to the regulated urban development (urban catalysts 2003).

**Reuse and Transformation**

Another aspect of soft tools is planning with particular focus on reuse and renovation. Here, existing structures are transformed or reused for new and different purposes. This reuse and transformation can, thus, be seen as a reuse of place-based resources taking its point of departure in the place and its social, cultural, physical and economical capitals and in an ecological and sustainable approach, concerned with reuse of material and processes. By working with a transformation of existing structures, new and previously unseen possibilities are rendered visible, when the non-economical, cultural and moral resources are in focus. In cases like these, a thematic overview of the productive and constructive potentials of a society can render visible the positive dimensions and qualities of a declining city, which can bring the local actors and their capacity into play and thereby activate and develop the local resources. This can be combined with using cultural strategies. It could be a goal to create a multi-facetted and vibrant cultural life for the population, business, tourism etc., in which culture can contribute to a re-definition of the identity and mental environment of the cities.

**Space Pioneers**

Finally, the category of soft tools includes the space pioneers of the local community. The space pioneers are local actors who make a difference, as they do in the work of Parks & Peoples Adopt-a-lot program or the project in the former Spøttrup municipality. These kinds of interventions, which have an informal quality and happen as a result of all kinds of private initiatives, are not to be underestimated. As the German landscape architect and urban researcher Klaus Overmeyer points out, these private originators of unorthodox spatial transformations function as "space pioneers" (Overmeyer 2007). Space pioneers create or prepare the ground for urban development through experimental approaches on a small scale. Often they re-use residual spaces such as left over buildings or areas and activate the "planning void" by means of local knowledge and networks (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

**5.2.4 Approach to the Field of Negative Urban Development**

The model described above is not a model that can solve all issues or problems related to the handling of areas with negative urban development. It is not a final solution ,but  it points out a direction for the discussion regarding which issues have to be looked upon and worked with in order to transform declining areas - it looks at both the potentials and the problems of these areas. The model is imagined as useful to apply at municipal and city level and therefore it addresses politicians and urban planners. The local authority has to be pro-active and take a position regarding the plans for territories in decline. In the following I will move a bit closer towards the requirements for a model like this.

**Local and Strategic**

The two case studies show that the interventions made are ranging from local bottom- up projects to grand schemes, on a broad variety of scales. It is worth noticing that the very local projects can make a difference, but local, small projects alone have difficulties making an impact on a more general level. On the other hand,

|  | **Baltimore** | **Denmark** |
|---|---|---|
| **Regional** | + | ++ |
| **Municipal** | + | +++ |
| **Funds** | +++ | + |
| **Societies and organizations (NGO)** | +++ | ++ |

isolated, strategic policies and grand schemes have difficulties getting the locals involved and can also not stand alone. The table below shows in an overall and very generalized way where the effort lies in the different cases.

Baltimore has a very weak public authority, where e.g. the municipal level almost seems to disappear.  Instead the market in the form of funds controls the development of larger schemes and besides, very strong local NGO's attempt to change the everyday life for the inhabitants.  In Denmark several municipal and governmental strategies exist, but very few investors and funds are involved with the work related

to negative urban development. Also in Denmark there are very strong local asso-ciation activities, but these often depend on governmental money.

Thus the effort is placed differently in the two cases, and neither of them seems to have the perfect solution. However, the cases tell us that it is important to work on a broad variety of scales and to include both the local micro level and the more over-all policy level. This implies that overall strategic projects that participate in making some overall decisions, on a policy level, are needed as well as local place-based design projects in the local territory.

Furthermore, when looking at the cases there seems to be a missing link between the many different initiatives, in both cases. Generally, an agency is missing which unites the different initiatives as well as creates principles for how to work with negative urban transformation and how to work with the local, taking its potentials and resources into consideration. This means combining a strategic approach with a placed-based approach. This is proposed because we seem to need strategies that can intervene in the spatial restructuring of territories in decline at a regional level, city level and community level.

In relation to this, the way we look at the territory has to correspond with these two levels of intervention: aspects of this are related to seeing the territory from above and from below, which again can be linked with the view on the urban, taken by architect Tom Nielsen (2001) in his book *Formløs*. With his  point of departure in Michel de Carteau[50], Tom Nielsen (2001) develops a bipartite model for the city, where the first is about attaining a general understanding of the city, while zooming out to view an overall structure (the urban field).The second aspect describes the experience of  insight you get, when walking in the city (the picturesque city). It can be understood as if the urban field is experienced as a picturesque city, when walk-ing in the city. The urban field is related to defining urban patterns, concentrations and de-concentrations etc., whereas the picturesque city looks at the complexity, diversity and characteristic of the specific place. This duality can actually be seen in the methodology of the master thesis of Christensen and Lanng (2008) in which they search the edge according to an overall view on the urban field and according to an on site sight analysis of what is present at the local place.

**Unwinding and Development**

Another aspect that this frame has to incorporate is the focus on both development and unwinding, which means that we have to operate with both investment and dismantling. This approach might be coined in the map of plusses and minuses. Previously, I have used this map to show how the situation of growth and decline appears on multiple scales. This map also seems to be useful when having to pinpoint how to approach declining territories, and the map can be considered a general, conceptual strategy concerning unwinding and development. Thereby, we get beyond seeing everything as one grey mass of decline, but focus specifically on the parts while looking at the individual place.

On one hand, it is important to recognize that some urban areas are undergoing negative urban development. This recognition pinpoints that not all areas in a declining territory can be transformed. When working with negative urban development  it has to be taken into consideration if the strategic conditions are present within a given urban territory, as it is essential to bear in mind that new developments can not take place everywhere and that, due to social  changes, some territories are faced with unwinding.

On the other hand, we have to strategically pinpoint areas with the local potential which can be further developed, with advantage. Some areas in the declining territory can gain from further development, not with growth as an immediate goal, but with the prospect of creating dynamic and interesting places with focus on improving conditions in the declining areas. This might be attained by focusing on factors like quality of living, quality of the public, quality of the built and  in this way strengthen the existing identity of the territories while making a good living environment. Thus what matters is the sense of place rather than size and growth. Maybe the sense of place and the quality of life could be goals for cities that can not compete in size, global connectivity and economic growth in order to generate a well functioning society.

The incorporation of both development and unwinding means that we have to look at these overall declining areas in a nuanced way in order to recognize the dynamic aspects within the territory of both growth and decline; this means that we have to utilize both positive and negative elements and treat the declining areas in their geographical and strategic context (Christensen and Lanng 2008) while showing the multi-facetted picture of the territory. But we must also use the possibilities that

actually are to be found in these declining territories to create distinction. Here, the use of urban design could play a significant role by working with the architectonical and visual qualities. Thereby, accessibility and/or attractiveness of the local landscape seem to be decisive factors for the development potential of individual localities (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

**Add New Energy**
In relation to the previous, one common denominator for declining areas is the loss of energy they experience. From the case analysis in part one it becomes clear that in the declining areas a general picture is loos of energy in the physical, cultural, social and economical structures. Therefore, one of the tasks seems to be to add energy in several ways and on different levels. However, boosting the energy does not fall within the aim for urban growth, on the contrary, it can be argued that there is a need for approaches which do not have physical and demographic growth as their primary condition and goal (Tietjen and Laursen 2008).

*"Instead experimental approaches are required in search for differentiated concepts of urban life quality; approaches which are able to negotiate the effects of territorial shrinkage incrementally (step by step) according to very specific local conditions".*(Tietjen and Laursen 2008)

This energy is giving money to the place, not only in a financial sense but also by organizing the social and cultural structures, thus supporting them. This added energy policy should then work with aspects like sustainability, livability, demolition plans, cultural and social regeneration, community organization, greening, landownership etc. It is essential to create a positive effect and see things improve; it is about telling new positive narratives and to develop initiatives that draw attention to the positive aspects and develop these aspects further. The energy that needs to be added thereby seems to engender new planning goals rather than immediate growth. The goal could be to work between growth and decline and creating stabilization and good living conditions in the process.

**The Value of Distinction**
A final aspect incorporated in this frame is the creation of distinction. As mentioned previously, the declining territories are often considered as one grey mass of decline and despair. Using the words of landscape artist Robert Smithson this understanding of the condition can be denoted entropy[51]. Smithson uses the term entropy in relation to the increasing sprawl of the American suburbs in the 1960s (Flam 1996).

According to Smithson, entropy in relation to the urban is a grey mass of sameness. Smithson explains the term entropy through an experiment in a sand box:

"I should now like to prove the irreversibility of eternity by using a jejune experiment for proving entropy. Picture in your mind's eye the sand box divided in half with black sand on the one side and white sand on the other. We take a child and have him run hundreds of times clockwise in the box until the sand gets mixed and begins to turn grey; after that we have him run anti-clockwise, but the result will not be a restoration of the original division but a greater degree of greyness and increase of entropy." (Smithson in Flam 1996: 74)

When Smithson talks about entropy in the suburbs, he sees possibilities in adding new beginnings, working with adding new stories into the formless. By looking at the declining territory there are similar possibilities for creating new stories or supporting already existing stories; using the existing situation to tell new spatial narratives. The idea of Cold Hawaii and Thy National Park both constitute examples of how to use the values and potentials of the territory. Cold Hawaii tells a story of excellent surf spots and develops it into a strategy, while putting the territory on the map, whereas Thy National Park brings the resources of the landscape and of nature into play. Thereby they stand out from the grey mass of decline, creating variation. This means that the value of distinction is of great importance in order to create a varied and lively territory.

This is meant to be seen in relation to a more general reflection, where the perception of any city or urban area is extremely important. Globalization is creating an increasing competition between cities fighting over investors, capital, tourists, tax revenues, residents etc. and in order to compete, the image of the place seems to be of great importance (Beauregard, 2005). The image is important in regard to how we understand, give meaning to and act in relation to an urban area and in this respect, the creation of a narrative seems important (Beauregard, 2005). I think there is a need to tell a new narrative for these cities which does not depend on growth alone, but which brings new values to the forefront. We have to change the narrative. Using expressions like the rotten banana and other less flattering terms gives a sharper edge to a very negative image. In these stories the positive aspects seem to disappear such as cheap housing possibilities, the qualities in a neighborhood, the scenic nature etc.

## 5.3 SUMMARY

Through the investigations of the different interventions from Baltimore and Denmark it is evident that the efforts range from local bottom-up projects to grand schemes, on a broad variety of scales. There are a lot of interesting initiatives going on and many of the projects are making a difference in these declining areas. But what also is evident is that the connection between the different interventions is sparse. It seems as though there is missing a strategy or a level of consideration that binds the different efforts together. Further, the investigations shows that new approaches and tools are needed in the future work with areas in negative urban transformation.

The model created on the basis of the investigations of interventions in Denmark and Baltimore is a way of unifying the aspects of the interventions; trying to gather the different positive elements from the different interventions into one model and adding new elements. Further, the model tries to incorporate the importance of working on a broad range of scales; working both strategically and place specific.

This model contains four layers that in different ways address the handling of urban design related aspects in areas with negative urban development. This means that the frame approaches the field of negative urban development by: working with a combination of an overall, strategic aspect and a local aspect, with the place-based potentials, to combine the local space pioneers with overall policies, to combine political will with the use of place-based potentials, to work in between unwinding and development, to create distinction, add new energy and incorporate architectonical and visual aspects.

# PART VI - CLOSURE

# 6.0 ENDING REMARK

The purpose of this thesis has been to explain and explore areas undergoing negative urban development and to investigate different inventions conducted in these areas. This chapter will shortly conclude on the findings of the thesis and to reflect on the work conducted, this shall be seen in relation to the many summaries throughout the thesis, the research question and the chapter concerning findings.

**Shrinking Cities or Urban Transformation**
The thesis discusses the phenomenon of geographical areas in decline. The point of departure for this investigation was the term of shrinking cities, which in recent years have entered as a topic of interest for urban planners and architects. Through the investigations of the term shrinking cities the term both fascinated me and confused me, because just as much as I felt that these areas in decline are extremely relevant to engage in as urban designers and architects, just as much I could not find answers in the term for all my questions. This led me to broaden up my research focus from being only regarding shrinking cites to looking more overall on what the tendencies are in contemporary urbanity in regard to contemporary urban polarization and further what conceptions there are used to describe these.

Throughout these investigations I figured out that contemporary urbanity is characterized by an increased spatial polarization; but moreover, growth and decline enter into a dynamic interplay. The cause for this is a changed societal development, which can be coined in development trends such as globalization, deindustrialization and neoliberalization, among others. This means that shrinking cities represents one side of this spatial development and that the increasing growth of other areas represents another. And throughout, my work I came to understand the importance of including both aspects in order to grasp the full development of contemporary urbanity.

In order to coin this relation between growth and decline I have in this thesis introduced a relational and holistic approach under the name of urban transformation. This term is not seen as a substitute for either shrinking cities or other terms that deals with either growth or decline but is an attempt to try to capture the dynamic interplay between territories in decline and territories in growth. Further, by introducing this term of urban transformation the importance of engaging in both aspects of contemporary urbanity is emphasized, where there is a need for looking at differentiated planning solutions suitable for the specific situation of the given territory.

**Interventions**
As mentioned above I find a great relevance and need for a determined effort in the areas that undergo decline. This focus on the planning and design of the declining areas is what I find very interesting by the term shrinking cities, where specifically the German Shrinking Cities Project addresses the issue of the need for designing these areas. The second research question addresses this importance of engaging in the declining territories and the importance of urban design in these territories.

In this thesis the topic of interventions has been investigated by looking into different design interventions conducted in the two cases Baltimore and Denmark. From this investigation it becomes clear that there already is happening a lot in the field, but that there are too little cohesion between the different initiatives. There are both being conducted local bottom up projects and large scheme projects but a collected effort trying to combine the different actions seem to be missing. This has been approached by introducing a holistic model containing four layers. These four layers can be included in a united work with territories in negative urban development. These four layers all represent different urban design ways of working in the field, where the creation of positive urban narratives is the overall goal with the model. The model is not a final solution but is a way of discussing the many related issues there seem to be a need for addressing. Further, this model tries to emphasizes a need for working both strategically and place-specific with the territory; meaning the need for working both at an overall strategically level and very local at a specific site. This is suggested because there is both the need to address overall issues like where the effort should lie and how to deal with the phasing out of certain areas and to create distinction by developing the resources of the specific site.

The outlined model is just one proposal that need more work in order to be applicable. In the field of handling negative urban development I see a need for more knowledge about how the state of the affected territories are, and in relation to this, there seem to be a need for more mapping of the urban territory. This mapping shall down in the urban fabric both looking at the strategic level and the local level. Finally, there is a need for action; meaning to experiment with different design proposals and map the impact of these interventions.

**The Opening of a Field**
In addition to both research questions I have opened up a field and approached some issues and themes. The work done in the thesis is, however, not a fixed solu-

tion or a definitive answer to the questions that have been raised. Contrary, the goal has been to discuss problems and potentials of very relevant contemporary issues. I have been trying throughout the thesis to explain and explore the field of spatial polarization both in relation to theoretical investigations, introducing to the term of urban transformation as a way of approaching contemporary urbanity and in relation to how to address negative urban transformation, by introducing to the holistic design model. Thereby, this thesis contributes to the debate with applying new aspects to the discussion of urban polarization.

Through the thesis a number of issues are raised and discussed, these could be investigated and worked with further. This is among others:

> A further investigation and conceptualization of the term urban transformation

> A more in depth analysis of the cases in order to be able to conducted design proposals on site

> A more detailed discussion of the outcome of the two cases in relation to their very different character, here specifically in relation to declining cities and declining regions

Reflection of the working process
The thesis is overall constructed around the two main issues; the documentation of an urban condition and the investigation of different interventions. This is conducted through both empirical and theoretical material. The working method for this work has been the hermeneutical method where I have changed between the theoretical and empirical material. There are both advantages and disadvantages with interaction between theory and empirical material. The advantages are the more dynamic and impulsive approach, whereas the disadvantages is the possibility of continuously changing the approach of the studies, giving a newer ending work process.

The way I then have approached the specific empirical and theoretical material is with a critical approach. Here the theoretical material is questioned and different approaches and theories are investigated and the empirical material is submitted to a critical interpretation.

The case study method and the method for gathering the empirical material in the two cases, with among others the two analysis models have functioned well. The two analysis models have contributed to a way of analyzing areas in urban transformation that give a broad insight in the phenomenon being studied. However, if I have had more time it could have been useful to go deeper into the two cases and their diagnosis.

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## 6.3 NOTES

[1] The Blue Banana is a model that tries to define the European growth area – an area that has the shape of a banana which goes from London in North to Veneto in south. The concept was developed in 1989 by RECLUS, a group of French geographers managed by Roger Brunet (wikipedia, 2008B)

[2] The international research project "Shrinking Cities" was carried out from 2003-2005 under the curatorship of Philip Oswalt, Berlin. The project investigated 4 cases of demographic city shrinkage in Halle-Leipzig (Germany), Manchester-Liverpool (Great Britain), Detroit (USA) and Iwanowo (Russia). The project was financed by the German federal cultural foundation (German: Kulturstiftung des Bundes) and has resulted in two exhibitions in 2005 and 2006, the first showing the empirical results of the project and the second concentrating upon possible interventions (see chapter 1.1 for further information)

[3] Within Shenzhen the size of the special economic zone is 395.81 square kilometres ; in 2006  the SEZ was visited by 378 million people, and 110 million vehicles passed through the city's various checkpoints (Shenzhen Government Online 2008)

[4] From Eric Mumford (2000): The CIAM discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960, London, MIT Press. CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture/ Internationaux d'Architecture Mordern) was founded in Switzerland in 1928 by a group of European architects, CIAM, which refers both to the organization and the series of congresses, was a major force in creating a unified sense of what is now usually known as the Modern Movement in architecture. Significant persons in the CIAM is among others Le Corbusier and Sigfried Giedion and the CIAM influence is very evident in the planned capitals of Brasilia and Chandigarh.

[5] The field of landscape urbanism was introduced in the landscape Urbanism symposium and exhibition in 1997, organized by Charles Waldheim (Waldheim, 2006, 23)

[6] This theory about the city is described by John Rajchman. His point of departure is the unpredictable state of the city, where the city is a changeable process without stability. With basis in this instability one has to work with theories, programmes and abstract

[7] The original text: Det komplexa fenomen I sitt naturliga sammanhang, som fallstudien bidrar til att forkläre eller förstå bättre: det är det som är fallet" (Johansson, 2000; 67)

[8] This book corresponds with the english edition : Flyvbjerg, Bent (2001) Making social science matter: why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again, New York: Cambridge University Press

[9] Theory that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

[10] Periodization is in this thesis understood with basis in the definition made by Bob Jessop in the article: Recent Societal and Urban Change: Principles of Periodization and Their Application on the Current Period, in Nielsen, Tom et al (ed) (2004) Urban Mutation – periodization, scale and mobility, Arkitektskolens Forlag, Århus, p40-65. Here Jessop writes: "The main aim of any periodization is to interpret an otherwise undifferentiated "flow" of historical time by classifying events and/or processes in terms of their internal affinities and external differences in order to identify successive periods of relative invariance and the transitions between them"(Jessop, 2004: 41). This means that periodizations are useful because things change over time. Furthermore, the construction of periodization is made according to a particular problem, as there are no master periodization encompassing everything and different periodizations can be made depending on the area of interest (Jessop 2004: 42)

[11] IBA means International Bauausstellung  (international building exhibition) and in 2002 the state of  Saxony-Anhalt commissioned the Bauhaus dessau Foundation and  the Saxony-Anhalt State Development Company (SALEG) to prepare this building exhibition (www.iba-stadtumbau.de)

[12] The essay is among other reprinted in Alexander, Jeffery et al (Ed) (1997) The Classical tradition in Sociology – The American Tradition volume 1, London: Sage Publications, which is from where the references to the essays in this thesis will descend from

[13] the concept of the welfare city refers to urban built environments and urban way of living, developed under the influence of the welfare state; this influence must be expected to vary according to the different forms of welfare regimes.(Albertsen and Diken 2004)

[14] In his book from 2000 "The Lexus and the Olive tree" Thomas Friedman deals with two eras of globalization. The first era of globalization was from the mid-1800s to late 1920s and was built around falling transportation costs, where interventions like the railroad, the steamship and the automobile made it possible for people to move around in faster and cheaper ways. In this first era of globalization Friedman states that the world shrank from a size "large" to a size "medium". The second era of globalization is the present era and this era became really evident with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the economic crisis in 1998. This era is in some points very similar to the previous one, but it is much more intense and the degree of globalization is much higher; Friedman states that in this second era of globalization the world has shrunk from a size "medium" to a size "small". Today the falling telecommunication costs, inventions like the microchip, the satellite, the fibre optic and the internet are the causes for this period of globalization.

[15] This relational approach has roots in structuralism. Structuralism: "is a study method that generally claims that the true nature of things does not lie in the things themselves but in the relationship with other things (Nesbitt, Kate (ed) theorizing a new agenda for architecture – an anthology of architectural theory 1965-1995, Princeton architectural Press, 1996, New York)

[16] The architecture historians Michelle Provoost and Wouter Vanstiphout form the firm of Crimson together .More info: http://www.crimsonweb.org/spip.php?article17

[17] This highly urbanized Northeast American Seaboard can be seen as one inclusive urban field. Already in 1961 Jean Gottmann denoted the area from Boston to Washington megalopolis (Gottmann, 1962)

[18] During my PhD work, part of my research time was spent at Columbia University, in the period march 5th 2007 to April 20th 2007 and this trip was conducted during that period

[19] The Rust Belt, also sometimes denoted the manufacturing belt, is situated in the Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic States and was characterized by its heavy industry and manufacturing production in the post war period.

[20] The Sun Belt is a region that stretches over the south and south-western parts of the U.S. and contains states such as Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, South Carolina, and Texas

[21] Different from a European model the suburbs and the inner-cities are independent financially, spatially and politically- there is a metropolitan area and an inner-city area making the two even more separated.

[22] This development might have roots in the colonization of America when the founding fathers first came to America. At that time the prices on land were extremely low, and there was enough land for everyone to get at piece. America has always been seen as the land of possibilities and the country of the individual. The planning tradition is connected with this individualization: the American planning tradition can be characterized as a kind of prairie-explorer with particular features: to own land is every man's right and this right to land, and to be his/her own master, overshadow obligations to society and also what may benefit the public, in general.

[23] Harvey thinks of Baltimore as his own hometown and he has lived there for several years.

[24] Large parts of this chapter is originally a paper written together with PhD student Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture under the title: Urbanity without Growth

[25] This has, however, changed in the fall of 2008 where the Danish economy is facing difficulties

[26] The city of Aalborg is the starting point because it is here I live and work and all journeys conducted therefore has this starting point

[27] The concept of the "H-city" was created by Transform architects in order to rethink territorial development in Denmark against the background of the 1997 National Planning Report (Transform arkitekter 2007). The H-City corresponds with the Danish motorway system and has been in the making since the construction of the motorway system in the fifties. For an analysis of urbanisation in Denmark in connection with the national motorway system see Nielsen et.al. (2005) Byen, Vejen og Landskabet: Motorvejen - landskabskunst og hverdagslandskab, København: Skov og Landskab.

[28] The term "outskirts" indicates the Danish commuting catchment areas that have been shrinking in population in the period 1995-2005 (cf. figure 1). Interestingly, instead of "outskirts", which would be the direct translation of the Danish term yderområder, the English edition of the 2006 national planning report speaks of "small-town regions" that are defined as "the commuting catchment area for towns with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants that are relatively far from any larger town". However, parts of West and North Jutland that are situated relatively far from the central Danish Growth areas are also significantly shrinking in population but do not fall under this definition.

[29] As a further scenario that corresponds with the rotten banana, the east Jutland area from Randers to Kolding has been denoted the fat sausage

[30] Less than 5% of the Danish population is occupied within areas of farming, fishery and forestry (Ny Thisted & Realdania 2006: 9)

[31] Danish welfare state was introduced with the first planning act in Denmark in 1938. For a comprehensive discussion of the specific Danish concept of welfare urbanism, see Albertsen, and Diken (2004)

[32] Prioritization of urban development in the sense of city and town development was not only a Danish phenomenon. The architectural theoretician Sébastien Marot describes French post World War II planning politics as "a conscious neglect of the economic and cultural changes impinging upon the rural world" (Marot 1999). Similar to the outlined development of the Danish territory, Marot observes: "Moreover, we recognize how this situation is made all the more difficult as new economies of tourism, communications, recreation, and distribution and the rise of individual suburban homes extend their reach into the countryside, blurring traditional distinctions between town and country."

[33] The town and country planning act from 1970 (Danish: By- og landzoneloven) divided the Danish territory into country zones (Danish: landzone), administrated by the counties, and urban zones (Danish: byzone) as well as summer house areas (Danish: sommerhusområde), administrated by the municipalities.

[34] In Denmark the law obliges owners to take residence in their land zone property and in general also in year-round residences in urban zones whereas residence is forbidden in summer cottages with the exception of pensioners who have owned their property for more then 8 years.

[35] Most of them are abandoned but some of them are brought up by the notorious Låsby Svendsen, a huckster that bargains with everything from a spoon to a house. He rents or sells these houses to recipients of cash assistance or others at the bottom of the social ladder, who then rents or buys a house which is in such a bad state that it is not suitable for living. The municipalities are doing everything they can to prevent him from buying any houses both to protect the poor people living in the houses, but also because the villages where Låsby Svendsen has houses get a very bad reputation, contributing to more decline and decay.

[36] This term is among others also used in the work of PhD-student Anne Tietjen.

[37] The first federal redevelopment program was launched by the Congress in 1949 under the name Title 1 of the housing Act. The Housing Act program was redeveloped in 1954, 1959 and 1961. This act lasted the next two decades and it inspired planners, mayors, journalists, the public etc. to dream of grand schemes to revitalize the American cities (Teaford, 2000).

[38] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[39] "National priority: spatial planning in small-town regions emphasizing their natural qualities as an important potential for development as a supplement to efforts related to economic policy through such actors as the regional economic growth forums."

[40] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[41] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[42] The Area Renewal Act (Danish: områdefornyelse/byfornyelse) is an existing state program for the renewal of existing buildings and urban spaces on a city district scale. The program originally addresses urban renewal in the historic city centres with focus on housing renovation. To become applicable in shrinking rural areas the Area Renewal Act needs therefore some re-thinking and adaptation as well as a shift in focus from the larger cities and towns to the villages and rural districts.

[43] Quoted Henrik Willadsen, Skive municipality, at the conference "Konference for mindre byer og stagnationsområder", Rønde, September 20th 2007.

[44] In Copenhagen, demolition of backyard buildings and subsequent conversion into common green spaces was one important strategy in Area Renewal

[45] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[46] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[47] In the following years the intention is that at least 4 more sites will follow: Skjern Å, Mols Bjerge, Kongernes Nordsjælland og Vadehavet

[48] One thing that already now has been launched is a commercial, aiming at making medical students choose Thisted as the place for their internship, because of its great surfing possibilities.

[49] This chapter is to a large extent written together with PhD-fellow Anne Tietjen from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the paper Tietjen, Anne and Laursen, Lea Holst (2008) Urbanity without growth - Planning and urban design principles in shrinking Danish territories, working paper submitted for European Planning Studies

[50] After a study of New York, Certeau works with two ways of seeing the city – the city seen from above as a structure and the city seen when walking in it (Nielsen, 2001)

[51] Entropy derives from the field of thermodynamics and is a measure of the randomness of molecules in a system (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Entropy, accessed October 20th 2008)

## 6.4 APPENDIX

| Town/Village | Number of inhabitants 1990 | Number of inhabitants 2006 | Number of inhabitants 2008 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agger | 463 | 411 | 406 |
| Amtoft | IS A VILLAGE WITH 190 IHABITANTS IN 2004 | | |
| Bedsted | 1060 | 961 | 936 |
| Bjerget | | | |
| Boddum | IS A VILLAGE WITH 47 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Doverodde | IS A VILLAGE WITH 48 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Frøstrup | 644 | 667 | 644 |
| Getterup | IS A VILLAGE WITH 125 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Gl. Bedsted | IS A VILLAGE WITH 51 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Hassing | IS A VILLAGE WITH 118 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Heltborg | IS A VILLAGE WITH 132 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Hillerslev | 418 | 401 | 398 |
| Hundborg | 583 | 577 | 559 |
| Hunstrup | | | |
| Hørdum | 339 | 296 | 274 |
| Klitmøller | 701 | 799 | 816 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Koldby | 783 | 776 | 774 |
| Krik | IS A VILLAGE WITH 89 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Lildstrand | | | |
| Lyngby | IS A VILLAGE WITH 10 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Morup Mølle | IS A VILLAGE WITH 57 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Nors | 1126 | 1050 | 1027 |
| Nr. Vorupør | | | |
| Nørhå | | | |
| Ræhr | 703 | 562 | 557 |
| Sennels | 807 | 864 | 872 |
| Sjørring | 723 | 728 | 745 |
| Skinnerup | | | |
| Skjoldborg | | | |
| Skyrum | IS A VILLAGE WITH 53 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Snedsted | 1143 | 1197 | 1185 |
| Stagstrup | | | |
| Stenbjerg | IS A VILLAGE WITH 183 IHABITANTS | | |
| Sundby | IS A VILLAGE WITH 164bIHABITANTS | | |
| Svankær | IS A VILLAGE WITH 106 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sønderhå | | | |
| Thorsted | | | |
| Tved | 231 | 226 | |
| Vang | | | |
| Vesløs | 360 | 363 | 360 |
| Vester Vandet | | | |
| Vestervig | 789 | 746 | 711 |
| Vigsø | | | |
| Villerslev | IS A VILLAGE WITH 123 IHABITANTS IN 2006 | | |
| Vilsund | IS A VILLAGE WITH 196 IHABITANTS | | |
| Ydby | 368 | 314 | 302 |
| Øsløs | | 241 | 239 |
| Øster Vandet | | | |
| Østerild | 651 | 651 | 644 |
| Thisted | 12572 | 12762 | 12835 |
| Hurup | 2771 | 2794 | 2753 |
| Hanstholm | 2551 | 2340 | 2383 |
| Tømmerby | | | |
| Hjardemål | | | |